NEMESIS, THE ROMAN STATE, AND THE GAMES

RELIGIONS IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

FORMERLY

ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES
AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES
DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

EDITORS
R. VAN DEN BROEK H.J.W. DRIJVERS
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VOLUME 117

NEMESIS, THE ROMAN STATE, AND THE GAMES

BY

MICHAEL B. HORNUM

E.J. BRILL
LEIDEN • NEW YORK • KÖLN
1993

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Hornum, Michael B.
Nemesis, the Roman state and the games / Michael B. Hornum
p. cm.—(Religions in the Graeco-Roman world, ISSN 0927-7633; v. 117)
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 9004097457 (hard)
1. Nemesis (Roman deity) 2. Rome—Religion. 3. Religion and state—Rome. 4. Games—Rome. I. Title. II. Series.
BL820.N48H67 1993
292.2'114—dc20 93-726
CIP

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Hornum, Michael B.:
Nemesis, the Roman state and the games / by Michael B. Hornum. — Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1993
(Religions in the Graeco-Roman world; Vol. 117)
ISBN 90-04-09745-7
NE: GT

ISSN 0927-7633
ISBN 90 04 09745 7

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

To Meetzy and Shiva

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study represents a revised version of my dissertation (*Nemesis, the Roman State, and the Games*, Bryn Mawr, 1991). During the course of my dissertation research and in the subsequent preparation of the present book I have received much assistance and excellent advice from many scholars to whom I am very grateful. I would like begin by thanking my main dissertation advisor, Professor Brunilde S. Ridgway of Bryn Mawr College, for her aid in focusing my research, her useful references, and her ever valuable comments. I would also especially like to thank Professor John G. Gager of Princeton University for his helpful suggestions in the area of ancient religion. In addition, I am grateful to Professor Russell Scott of Bryn Mawr College for his invaluable advice on gladiatorial games, to Professor Richard Hamilton of Bryn Mawr College for assistance with my Greek, and to Bryn Mawr College graduate student Ippokratis Kantzios for contributing several translations. I would further like to thank Professors Charles Edwards of the American School in Athens and Christine Dunbabin of McMaster University for sending me drafts of their articles on Tyche at Corinth and the "vestigia" before these went to publication. Gratitude is also due to Professors Paul Zanker of the Universität München and Ginette Di Vita-Evrard of Ecole Normale Supérieure for their helpful correspondance.

I am grateful to the American Research Institute in Turkey for awarding me a fellowship so that I could travel to Turkey in 1989 in order to examine closely several of the objects in this study. I would like to extend a warm thank you to the various persons who assisted me in my research at the Izmir, Seljuk and Antalya Museums, and to thank Professor Jale Inan for providing me with information concerning Nemesis images which I had not seen.

Finally, I would like to end with thanks to my wife Helene and my parents, Finn and Barbara Hornum, for their support. It would have been impossible to finish without them.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BMC Aeolia	Wroth, W. 1894. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Troas, Aeolis and Lesbos.* London: Trustees of the British Museum.
BMC Alexandria	Poole, R.S. 1892. *Catalogue of the Coins of Alexandria and the Nomes.* London: Trustees of the British Museum.
BMC Caria	Head, B.V. 1897. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Caria, Cos, Rhodes, etc.* London: Trustees of the British Museum.
BMC Galatia	Wroth, W. 1899. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria.* London: Trustees of the British Museum.
BMC Ionia	Head, B.V. & Poole, R.S. 1892. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia.* London: Trustees of the British Museum.
BMC Lycia	Hill, G.F. 1897. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia.* London: Trustees of the British Museum.
BMC Lydia	Head, B.V. 1901. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lydia.* London: Trustees of the British Museum.
BMC Macedonia	Head, B.V. & Poole, R.s 1879. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Macedonia, etc.* London: Trustees of the British Museum.
BMC Mysia	Wroth, W. & Poole, R.S. 1892. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Mysia.* London: Trustees of the British Museum.
BMC Palestine	Hill, G.F. 1914. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine.* London: Trustees of the British Museum
BMC Peloponessus	Gardner, P. 1887. *Catalogue of Greek Coins. Peloponessus (Excluding Corinth).* London: Trustees of the British Museum.
BMC Phoenicia	Hill, G.F. 1910. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia.* London: Trustees of the British Museum.
BMC Phrygia	Head, B.V. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phrygia.* London: Trustees of the British *Museum.*

BMC Pisidia	Hill, G.F. 1897. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia.* London: Trustees of the British Museum.
BMC Pontus	Wroth, W. & Poole, R.S. 1889. *Catalogue of Greek Coins. Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and the Kingdom of Bosporus.* London: Trustees of the British Museum.
BMC Thrace	Poole, R.S., Head, B.V., Gardner, P. 1877. *Catologue of Greek Coins. The Tauric Chersonese, Sarmatia, Dacia, Moesia, Thrace, etc.* London: Trustees of the British Museum.
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.* 1827-. Berlin: Officina Academica.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.* 1863-. Berlin: G. Reimer.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae.* 1873-. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
IGR	*Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas Pertinentes.* 1901-. Paris: E. Leroux.
Insc.It. X.1	*Inscriptiones Italiae X.1 Pola et Nesactium.* 1947. Ed. B. Forlati Tamaro. Rome: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello Stato.
Insc.It. X.3	*Inscriptiones Italiae X.3 Histria Septemtrionalis.* 1936. Ed. A. Degrassi. Rome: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello Stato.
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecae.* 1923-. Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff.
SNG Copenhagen	*Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum.* 1942-. Copenhagen: Danish National Museum

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INTRODUCTION

This book primarily concerns the cult of the goddess Nemesis during the Roman Imperial period. Specifically, it focuses upon two issues: the connection of Nemesis with the Roman state and her association with the agon. The cause of its chronological restriction lies in the fact that the Roman Imperial era is the time-frame to which belongs the vast majority of the evidence for the cult. The topical restrictions are rooted in the natural trajectory of the previous scholarship regarding the cult of Nemesis.

With regard to the first issue, scholars in the earlier part of this century had come to the conclusion that during the Roman period Nemesis was predominantly a goddess of gladiators, slaves, freedmen, and other low status individuals (Schweitzer 1931, 177; Garcia y Bellido 1967, 82, 84). Canto (1984, 189-93) recently disputed this notion in a reexamination of the evidence from the amphitheater at Italica, Spain, and concluded that there is little credence to the slave/lower class hypothesis, with in fact many Nemesis dedicants from the highest levels of municipal society, including public officials. The older idea had gained such currency, however, that as recently as 1988 it still appears in the scholarship (Keay 1988, 160). Foucher's 1974 article is a good example of how pervasive this notion has become. In his survey of Nemesis finds in amphitheatrical and theatrical contexts Foucher (1974, 190-91) had admitted that several of the dedicants were of high status, some even government officials, but he retreated into the traditional theory by positing a vast body of Nemesis worshippers composed of lower class and slave individuals whom we simply do not see because they were not wealthy enough to leave us abundant evidence.

While such a suggestion could be theoretically correct, it is clearly unprovable, and a survey of the statistical evidence (Tables 1 & 2) shows it unwarranted. In fact, slaves, gladiators, *venatores*, freedmen, and probable slaves and freedmen together compose only a small percentage of the total (33 out of 216 or 32 out of 185), and are only just over half as numerous among Nemesis dedicants as members of the civilian government and military (33 compared to 63 or 32 compared to 57). Undeniable slaves (even including gladiators and *venatores*, who were not always slaves) and freedmen number only 11 out of 216 or 11 of 185, and 11 compared to 63 or 57 military and official dedicants, a percentage no greater than that found in a survey of the ratio of indisputable slaves and freedmen to military and official personnel within the cult of Cybele and Attis in the same period.[1] Slaves and freedmen are therefore no more distinctive of the Nemesis cult than of another cult which has never been characterized as predominantly popular among slaves and freedmen. Furthermore, the inclusion of freedmen in the ranks of low status individuals is highly questionable. Despite their servile origin and the legislative measures taken to exclude them from many public offices, freedmen were quite capable of attaining significant wealth and local importance, especially as *augustales* (Taylor 1961, 131; Sherwin-White 1973, 326-27).

Methodologically, we must no longer focus upon this minor aspect of the worship of Nemesis, assuming that we are missing the evidence which would in fact confirm it as the major aspect, and thereby constructing our explanations of the cult and its meaning(s) on an argument *ex silentio*. We must turn instead to the groups which the evidence we do in fact possess indicates as the main component of Nemesis dedicants, persons who are part of the civilian and military arms of the Roman state (close to a third of the total). I will, therefore, examine in detail the connections of Nemesis to the State, to attempt to understand further her importance for this segment of her worshippers, and to base any theories about the meaning(s) and role of the cult in the Empire primarily upon this foundation.

With regard to the second issue, the connection of Nemesis with the games, this comprises the main aspect of the cult in the Roman period and the one most extensively addressed by previous scholars. I will provide a more complete catalogue of the evidence than hitherto available and will suggest a new explanation for the phenomenon. In the chapter concerning the role of Nemesis in the agon, I will again draw upon the catalogues in order to evaluate the chronological and spatial distribution of Nemesis' worship in theaters and amphitheaters, the types of people involved, and particular conceptions of the goddess reflected in the evidence.

Studies by Von Premerstein (1894) and Foucher (1974) sought to explain Nemesis' presence in theaters and amphitheaters as part of a syncretism with Tyche/Fortuna or Artemis/Diana. Such a contention will be more fully analyzed. The pre-Roman evidence for the connection of Nemesis with the games is scanty at best. I intend to see if we can dispense with questions of a pre-Roman association altogether. I hope to determine more precisely what were the kinds of competitions with which Nemesis was linked and why she was present there at all.

Also, significant work has still to be done in studying the social origins of the dedicants associated with the games. As recently as 1962 (Bernard &

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[1] As a quick perusal of the index and appropriate inscription numbers in Vermaseren's *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque* I-VII (1977-) will show.

Salviat 1962, 603) the idea that most Nemesis worshippers in the theaters and amphitheaters were gladiators and *venatores* continued to be proposed. The recent study by Canto (1984) has, however, shown that such assumptions are not necessarily accurate, at least in Spain.

I have included extensive catalogue compilations of ancient literary and epigraphic references to Nemesis (Appendices 1 and 2), not only those directly pertinent to my main arguments, in order to provide as full a picture as possible of the ways in which the goddess was viewed across time and socio-economic class. Iconographic evidence, because much of it lacks clear provenience and is notoriously difficult to date, has been compiled photographically only in so far as it is germane to the documentation of the two main aspects of the cult examined in this book and in appendix form when pertinent to the analyses of those aspects.

In my research and within the discussions of my chapters I have utilized not only those literary sources which mention the goddess Nemesis, but also those which speak of a concept "nemesis" and those which refer only to the deity Adrasteia, with whom Nemesis was syncretized. However, I have decided to restrict the literary catalogue to references to the divine figure Nemesis because inclusion of every instance of the word "nemesis" or related verbs and nouns would have helped little in giving the reader a broad acquaintance with the ways in which the goddess was viewed by ancient writers of various dates and interests, and because the instances of Adrasteia alone need not always carry with them any information relevant for our understanding of Nemesis or her cult. In the literary catalogue the editions of the texts are taken from the *Ibycus* database of Greek and Latin literature, unless otherwise noted. When possible, the texts are arranged chronologically by the centuries in which the authors lived. Texts of uncertain date are grouped at the end of the catalogue. Dates attributed to the authors are from Michael Grant's *Greek and Latin Authors 800 B.C.-A.D. 1000* (1980) and L. Berkowitz and K. A. Squitier, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, Canon of Greek Authors and Works* (1986). Translations have been provided for each of the texts in the literary catalogue.

My epigraphic catalogue includes both inscriptions and papyri. Translations have been provided for only those texts which I cite in the narrative section of the book and which are well enough preserved to be meaningful. Because of the shifting boundaries of some of the Roman provinces, the data are arranged alphabetically by modern country, and within those countries alphabetically by the site at which the text was found. To be included in this catalogue an inscription or papyrus must either mention Nemesis (or a sufficiently distinctive portion of her name), or, if her name is missing, be accompanied by a representation of Nemesis, mention a deity who can be identified with Nemesis in other known instances and come from a context of Nemesis worship or, if it is a fragmentary votive mentioning no deity, come from a Nemesis shrine or from an amphitheater or theater in which there was a Nemesis shrine. Evidence falling into the first and second categories is treated as certain Nemesis data, while that in the other three categories is regarded as probable Nemesis data. In my analysis reference will be made to two sets of numbers, one maximal and one minimal. These represent, respectively, the total of all certain and probable data, and that of only certain data. These numbers are summarized in the tables.

Because of the regionality of differing letter forms, types of inscriptions, and types of object, I have generally chosen not to utilize these criteria for dating the epigraphic evidence.[2] In those instances in which good regional studies have established an adequate system for dating by these criteria, as in the case of Alföldy's 1975 *Inschriften von Tarraco*, I have followed the chronology of the particular study. In other cases, while I have included within my catalogue dates imposed by other scholars, these are not followed in my analyses unless they meet several main criteria. These criteria for dating are: an actual date on an inscription; a date deduced from individuals of known date mentioned in the text; a date (usually a *terminus post quem*) deduced from a known date of Roman occupation of a particular region or city; a date (often only a *terminus post quem* or *terminus ante quem*) derived from an archaeologically determined datable context; a date (usually a *terminus post quem*) deduced from the known date of the stationing of a particular legion in a specific place, of the creation of a legion or of new imperial titulature given to a legion; a date (usually a *terminus post quem*) deduced from individuals in the text who bear an imperial nomen like Iulius, Claudius, Flavius, Cocceius, Ulpius, Aelius, and Aurelius obtained either through being an imperial freedman or through reception of citizenship under a particular emperor (Gordon 1983, 27; Alföldy 1969, 31-47; Mócsy 1974, 137-38); a statement of filiation in inscriptions of the freeborn, common in the early Principate but infrequent after the 212 A.C. *Constitutio Antoniniana* (Alföldy 1969, 28); the use by freedmen of the praenomen of their patron, again common in the early Empire but not usual later (Alföldy 1969, 28); and the omission of the praenomen, first common in the second half of the second century A.C. (Alföldy 1969, 27; Gordan 1983, 22).

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[2] For the problems of Latin letter form dating and the need to carefully study paleography regionally see Gordan (1983, 39), Keppie (1991, 28). For Greek texts of the Imperial period see the discussion of letter form chronological variation even within a small area of Asia Minor in Laumonier (1937, 244).

I have, for the purposes of my tables and analyses, also adopted several criteria for determining the status and/or profession of individual dedicants in the epigraphic data. Naturally, if an individual tells the reader that he is a *servus, libertus, decurio, flamen, duovir,* a soldier or any other explicit identification, there is little ambiguity. Unfortunately, this is all too infrequent. In some instances status can be inferred from other texts by the same person or his family in which the status or position is more explicitly defined. In most instances we can only work in probabilities. An individual with only a single name is probably a slave (Curchin 1987, 169-70). Persons in the Latin West who bear Greek cognomina may be regarded as probable freedmen (Taylor 1961, 115, 125-27; Curchin 1987, 169-70), although in certain areas, like Dacia and Pannonia, the frequency of Eastern immigrants make this attribution far less certain (Mócsy 1974, 227-30).

Augustales and *seviri* with Greek cognomina in the Latin West are also probably freedmen (Duthoy 1970, 88-105; Curchin 1987, 169-70). As possible freedmen may be designated those individuals who bear a name frequently associated with known slaves or freedmen, particularly Crescens, Felix, Fortunatus, Fuscus, Hilarus, Iucundus, and Primigenius (Alföldy 1969, 181, 202, 206, 208, 217, 223, 271). Probably freeborn are persons who use a filiation formula, or, in the Greek East, a patronymic (Curchin 1987, 169-70). To be considered as *incerti* are a large body of individuals who bear *dua* or *tria nomina,* thus apparently not slaves, who have Latin cognomina in the West or East and Greek cognomina in the East, but whose extant inscriptions lack indication of title or office. These persons could be freeborn or freedmen, but this is not demonstrable. For the purposes of this book they will be treated as ordinary civilians.

CHAPTER ONE

NEMESIS PRIOR TO THE ROMAN IMPERIAL PERIOD

THE ORIGINS AND MEANING OF NEMESIS

The word "νέμεσις" is related to the Greek root "νέμω", meaning to allot or distribute. The term "nemesis" and related words used to convey the idea of moral blame or indignation already appear in Homer (*Ilias* B223, B296, I 156, I 410, Z335, Z350, N122; *Odyssea* B 223, B 296, I 410), where the concept is used variously as an attribute of gods with regard to the divine/human relationship, and of men with regard to interhuman affairs. No personification appears to be involved here. The earliest literary references to an actual goddess Nemesis occur in Hesiod where she, along with Aidos, is said to have forsaken the realm of interhuman relations at the onset of the Iron Age (*Opera et Dies* 197), and where she is seen as the daughter of Nyx (*Theogonia* 223). The other early source for the goddess is found in fragments of the *Cypria*, which contained a myth popular in later writers (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 8.334c and Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3.127). In the *Cypria* Nemesis appears with a vivid personality, and is pursued by Zeus who impregnates her with the Dioscuri and Helen (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 8.334c; frag. 158.29). This story is later associated by the fifth century comedy writer Cratinus (*Nemesis*) with the locale of Rhamnous in Attica where a famous sanctuary of Nemesis existed in Classical times.

The original nature of the goddess has been disputed. Some scholars see Nemesis from the very start as a "personification" of the idea of moral indignation, expressed by the earliest use of the term in Homer and the weakly personified concept in Hesiod (Herter 1935, 2350). Other scholars (Farnell 1896, 488-91, 495-96; Coman 1931, 21-32; Dietrich 1965, 157-59, 164-68) have seen her as a concrete divine figure of chthonic character responsible for life and death, having a distinctive mythology and cult in Attica, and who becomes associated with the particular moral quality of "nemesis" by the time of the Epics because of some event which supplies a moral aspect to the goddess' character. Alternatively, it is suggested that if she was already called Nemesis, the "moral indignation" concept would have been incorporated into her character as the meaning of the word "nemesis" narrowed from a hypothetical earlier concept of distribution or lot in life to that specifically of retribution (Farnell 1896, 488-91, 495-96).

In support of the theory of Nemesis' chthonic origin there has been adduced a close connection of Nemesis with those supposedly typical embodiments of the power of life and death as manifest in nature, Artemis and Cybele. Artemis is given the epithet Oupis in the Hymn to Artemis by Callimachus (204), and in the dedication from the Triopeion of Herodes Atticus at Rome Nemesis is called "Rhamnousian Oupis" (Appendix Two, no. 153), Solinus (*Memorabilia* 66.9) terms the "Phidiaca Nemesis" of Pomponius Mela (*De Chorographia* 2.3.46) "Phidiaca Diana", and Commodianus (*Instructiones* 1.18) speaks of the cult image of the devotees of Nemesis as Diana (Von Premerstein 1894, 407). In addition, Nemesis and Diana are connected in inscriptions of the Roman era (Appendix Two, nos. 8, 55, 64, 114) (Coman 1931, 21), Nemesis is associated with Adrasteia already in the fifth century B.C. by Antimachus (52-53) and Adrasteia is associated with Artemis (Demetrius Scepsius in the Suida, *Adrasteia*) and Cybele (Coman 1931, 22-24), and deer appear on the crown of the Nemesis cult statue at Rhamnous (Pausanias, *Graecae descriptio* 1.33.3) (Farnell 1896, 488-91, 495-96).

The early connection of Nemesis with Helen in the *Cypria* has been also adduced as support for the chthonic hypothesis because of the supposed original associations of Helen with a vegetation goddess (Dietrich 1965, 159). The derivation of the Moirai and Erinyes from earth daimones by Dietrich (1965, 172) is used to bolster the Nemesis connection because of the similarity in roles of these deities with that of Nemesis. Further chthonic connections are perceived in the association of Nemesis with Themis at Rhamnous, Nemesis' parentage in Hesiod, Nemesis' connections with the dead in fifth century Tragedy (Aeschylus, *Hektoros Lutra* fragment in Stobaeus, *Florilegium* 125.7; Sophocles, *Elektra* 792), Demosthenes' orations (*Orationes* 41.11.7-8), and funerary monuments of the Roman period (Appendix Two, nos. 88, 109, 155, 163, 237, 247) (Farnell 1896, 488-91, 495-96; Coman 1931, 30-33; Dietrich 1965, 166-68). Still further support has been found in citations of Nemesis' birth from Demeter (*Scholia in Euripidem: Rhesus* 342) or Erebus (Hyginus, *Fabularum Liber* 1) (Dietrich 1965, 165).

This position remains largely speculative. Alternate explanations can be found well within the meaning of indignation and its effects for all of the supposed chthonic or fertility aspects of the conjectured Ur-Nemesis. The use of Oupis as an epithet of Nemesis probably reflects, at most, the assimilation of the two goddesses in the Roman Imperial period, a merging which is found primarily in the arena and can be seen as stemming less from Nemesis' origins than from a logical association in a context where both goddesses are active (for Artemis: Tertullian, *De Spectaculis* XII; see Chapter Three).

The Adrasteia connections may indeed be old, especially in Asia Minor, but need not be seen as anything more than a consequence of the moral quality of both deities, the "inescapability" of the punishing result of "righteous indignation". The Themis-Nemesis association at Rhamnous may similarly relate to the moral qualities of both deities. The early connection with Helen may simply be an appropriate corollary of Nemesis' function as bringer of calamities upon mankind for its hubris, given Helen's role in the Trojan War (Skinner 1984, 137). Nemesis' connections with the dead as expressed in fifth century Tragedy, Demosthenes' mention of the Nemeseia, and later funerary monuments, all can be explained as part of Nemesis' function as punisher of improper attitudes and actions towards the dead. The supposedly corroborating citations of her parentage from Demeter or Erebus are of little value as they are both unique and late, perhaps arising from an interpretation of Nemesis' already existing connection with the dead as their avenger.

Finally, the chthonic theory has its fundamental *raison d'être* in basic prejudices against the "legitimate" divinity of "personifications". The contention that the vivid personality of Nemesis in the *Cypria* myth and the cult of the goddess are incompatible with a "personification" is an example of the assumption that a personified concept is a late occurrence and is less legitimately divine than a being associated with natural phenomena. We now know, however, that personified "ideas" appear early in Egyptian religion (such as Ma'at, Hike, Hu, and Sia), in the Vedas (like Vac), and in Greece (such as the Erinyes in Linear B) (Hornung 1982, 76-77; Fears 1981, 829).

Further, the very concepts of "personification" and "deification of an abstract idea" are alien to ancient religious thought. As Fears (1981, 828-833) argues so effectively with regard to Roman religion, a deity is any thing which manifests its power, whether this occurs in natural phenomena or in human behavior, and which may receive its name from that quality or nature in which such power and its effects are most evident. Similarly, Schroeder (1986, 341-343) contends that in Greek religious perception a god is seen in any unexpected or awesome manifestation of power, whether external or internal to human beings.

One may compare Cicero's passage quoted by Fears (1981, 828) with Aristotle's discussion (*Ethica Eudemia* 1233b.24-25) of righteous indignation. In the latter "Nemesis" is regarded as a deity not because of the divinization of an abstract human quality but because of the concrete beneficent power manifest in that quality. There is therefore simply no reason derived from ancient thought to relegate to the status of "mere personification" or "allegory" the divine being manifesting its power in "indignation" any more than a deity displaying its nature in a thunder storm.

In origin Nemesis may thus reflect an apprehension by the Greeks of the power expressed in Indignation, divine or human. As that power became more apparent, a concomitant recognition of the deity present in it and through it will have taken place. The emergence of Nemesis as the deity embodying Righteous Indignation would represent the growing awareness of such a concept in Greek thought.

In the Nemesis of Hesiod, who abandons man because of his wickedness (*Opera et Dies* 197), we can detect an attitude toward the divine in which gods are seen primarily as moral agents controlling human behavior in relation to themselves and other humans. Hence, the attribution to Nemesis in fifth century Tragedy of the task of punishing human hubris and improper actions towards the dead. In these writers we see Nemesis personified as one who punishes mistreatment of the dead (Aeschylus, *Hektorus Lutra* fragment in Stobaeus, *Florilegium* 125.7; Sophocles, *Electra* 792) and arrogance (Sophocles, *Electra* 1466-68; Euripides, *Phoenissae* 183-84). We also find the nemesis of the gods directed against the same behaviors, including by extension a lack of compassion toward the unlucky (Sophocles, *Philoktetes* 601-602), and also against too much of something (here grief) (Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus* 1753) or against terrible acts for which one is responsible (here Helen) (Euripides, *Orestes* 1361-62). The development culminates in the concepts about the divine and its relationship to man found in Plato (*Leges* 717d.2) where Nemesis, messenger of Dike, punishes frivolous words directed towards one's parents, and in Aristotle (*Ethica Eudemia* 1233b.24-25; *Magna Moralia* 1.27.1-2), where Righteous Indignation is specifically identified as a virtue and contrasted with its "counterfeit", Envy.

At the same time one can also detect in Nemesis, as has Coman (1931, 40-43), traces of a less rational, and probably older, concept of deity and its relationship with man. Nemesis recurs in the literary sources (implicit in Hesiod, *Theogonia* 223; Pindar, *Pythia* 10.42-45; explicit in *Anthologia Graeca* X.123; Chariton, *Chareas et Callirhoe* 3.8.6.5-6; *Historia Alexandri Magni* 1.2.22.15.1-3) as an expression of divine envy at any good received by man. Nemesis is also characterized as "envious" in a funerary inscription (Appendix Two, no. 35). Posnansky (1890, 48-51) argues that this idea reflects a development in the character of the goddess which took place primarily during the Roman era. However, the evidence implicit in the Classical writings and the antiquity of the concept of divine envy point in the opposite direction. In Plato and Aristotle there is a conscious attempt to rid Greek religious thought of such a conception of the divine. Nemesis, seen in this context, is not so much an embodiment of indignation at moral wrongs, or a restraint on human impropriety, but rather a frightful being who can snatch away any success or good fortune a human being has obtained, a sort of *malocchio*.

Coman (1931, 42-43) traces this version of Nemesis to a persistence in popular conception of the original chthonic nature of Nemesis. Since we have already raised questions about the chthonic theory of Nemesis' origins, another explanation should be sought. Perhaps one might speculate that as long as the gods were perceived as begrudging any success to man, it was thought improper for man to possess any good fortune, and Nemesis, as the power overseeing what is proper to men, was closely associated with divine envy. Later, as the view of the divine/human relationship began to change in certain segments of society, and the gods were seen as more moral agents, men were perceived as receiving success or failure as their behavior properly merited and the power "Nemesis" was experienced not as indicative of envy but of righteous indignation.

Literary sources from the Hellenistic and early Roman periods reveal the way in which the goddess was viewed by the educated elite during these times. She continues to maintain a control on human improprieties, particularly punishing those guilty of hubris (Callimachus, *Hymnus in Cererem* 56). She is also connected with the tortures of love, both in torturing Eros himself and in punishing those who are frivolous with their beloved (*Anthologia Graeca* V.273 [Agathias]; XII.229, XII.193 [Straton]; IX.260 [Secundus Tarentinus]; XII.33, XII.141 [Meleager]; XII.160; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 3.403-406, 4.693-94; among others).

THE PRE-ROMAN CULTS OF NEMESIS

Prior to the Roman period the most distinctive feature in the worship of Nemesis was the specific local cult center. There were sanctuaries at Rhamnous, Smyrna, and Alexandria. Because of excavation we know the most about the sanctuary at Rhamnous. While the Classical period at the site is the best documented, we also now know that the worship of Nemesis there extended back into the Archaic period because of a recently discovered bronze helmet dedicated to Nemesis by the people of Rhamnous, and dated by Petrakos to 499 B.C. (Appendix Two, no. 90). At Rhamnous there exist the excavated remains of the fifth century B.C. temple of Nemesis and that of Themis (sixth century B.C.), as well as several inscriptions which give insight into the cult practiced there. Two fourth century B.C. inscriptions mention priestesses of Nemesis (Appendix Two, nos. 93, 95). A decree of 236/5 B.C. refers to a Nemeseia festival (Roussel 1930, 269); the dedication of Megakles of Rhamnous to Themis (Appendix Two, no. 95) cites a competition in honor of Nemesis for men and boys in athletics and comedy.

From Rhamnous come fragments of a cult statue of Nemesis made in the fifth century B.C. by Agorakritos, pupil of Pheidias; it is described by

Pausanias (*Graecae descriptio* 1.33.3) as holding a phiale and branch from an apple tree, having stags and Nikai on her crown, and standing on a base alluding to the birth of Helen and the Dioscuri from Nemesis. Schweitzer (1931, 195-202) and subsequent scholars (Rolley 1964, 502) had sought to identify a Nemesis type wearing a peplos frequently depicted in the Roman era as reflecting the Nemesis of Rhamnous. We now know, however, because of the work of Despinis (1971), that the Rhamnous statue wore a long chiton with *apoptygma* and *kolpos*, and a himation. An Attic Red-Figure amphoriskos dated to the second half of the fifth century B.C. gives us the only other extant Classical representation of a figure named Nemesis, wearing a belted peplos and *sakkos*, but having no distinguishing attributes (Shapiro 1986, Taf. 1).

At Smyrna there also existed an old cult of Nemesis. The extant iconographic evidence for this cult comes mostly from the Roman era but we know from Pausanias (*Graecae descriptio* 9.35.6) that the cult existed earlier, because golden Charites made by the sixth century B.C. sculptor Boupalos were placed above the cult images. Pausanias (*Graecae descriptio* 7.5.2-4) also tells us that these latter consisted of two Nemeseis, the daughters of Nyx, and that they appeared to Alexander the Great in a dream and told him to found New Smyrna. The historical validity of the New Smyrna story has been questioned recently by Parke (1985, 127-28).

The concept of a double Nemesis has been explained in several ways (for complete references see Herter 1935, 2363-64; Dietrich 1965, 170-71). The Nemeseis have been seen as representing the two sides of the goddess, as punisher and balancer (theory of Gerhard cited in Posnansky 1890, 62); as depicting the Attic Nemesis and the related Aeolian goddess Adrasteia (theory of Tournier cited in Posnansky 1890, 63-64); as being generated by the founding of a second Smyrna (Farnell 1896, 493-94; theory of Ehrenberg cited in Herter 1935, 2363); as representing the twin peaks on the south coast of the Gulf of Smyrna (theory of Ramsey cited in Cadoux 1938, 220); as influenced by Asiatic ideas because of a certain similarity in the later city-goddess role of Nemesis to that of other local Anatolian goddesses (Schweitzer 1931, 203; Cadoux 1938, 220); and as similar to the plurality of related figures, like the three Moirai (Dietrich 1965,172).

The problem of this phenomenon has not been resolved. In her article about double and multiple images, Hadzisteliou Price (1971, 48-69) barely touches upon the issue of the Nemeseis, but simply assigns them to the category of doubling for the purpose of strengthening the quality of the deity (1971, 54). Perhaps, because of the close functional connection of Nemesis with the Moirai and Erinyes, Dietrich's suggestion (1965, 172), freed from its chthonic overtones, is the most attractive. What is clear, however, from a careful reading of Pausanias (*Graecae descriptio* 7.5.2-4) is that, if we take the foundation story at face value, the people of Smyrna did not worship two Nemeseis as a result of two Smyrnas but because a temple of the Nemeseis already in place on Mt. Pagus had issued the instructions for the move; a move which was in fact to the foot of that very mountain. Since it is known archaeologically that a move to the slopes of Mt. Pagus did occur in the early Hellenistic period (Akurgal 1978, 121), even if Pausanias' account is not fully accepted, an existing Nemeseis cult at the new location would explain the adoption of the cult by the new citizens.

The earliest extant image tentatively identified as that of the Smyrna Nemeseis occurs on a fragmentary relief from the theater at Thasos with a single Nemesis stylistically attributed to the Hellenistic period (Mendel 1914, 77-78.863; Schweitzer 1931, 212) but whose actual date is probably no earlier than the second century A.C. (Bernard & Salviat 1962, 603). Despite exceptions[1], most Roman coins from Smyrna, Roman statues and reliefs from various proveniences, and the literary sources (*Anthologia Graeca* XII.193 [Straton], XVI.223, 224) suggest that the two goddesses each wore a long chiton and himation, that they both made a gesture of pulling at the neck of the chiton which is best interpreted as spitting into their bosom (*Anthologia Graeca* XII.229 [Straton]; Callimachus, Fragment 280-81), and that one held a bridle, the other a measuring stick. Schweitzer (1931, 205) attributes the arrangement of the clothing on these standard Smyrna representations to the inspiration of a Tyche type of the early third century B.C.

In particular, the Smyrniote bronze municipal and confederation coinage, dating from the reign of Tiberius to that of Gallienus, yields the best evidence for understanding the character of the Smyrna cult statues. On confederation coinage the Nemeseis serve as type-goddesses representing the city itself. The coins usually show a single or double image without wings, a characteristic Pausanias (*Graecae descriptio* 1.33.7) notes as typical of the most ancient images of the goddess, including the most holy *xoana* of Smyrna. Other coin representations from Smyrna depict the Nemesis as winged, but in this image the goddess is single and wears not the long chiton and mantle but the belted peplos appropriate to a rapidly moving winged being. The winged type appears first on Smyrniote autonomous coins assigned to the reign of Tiberius (*SNG Copenhagen*, Ionia 1237-41) and on coins certainly dated to the reign of Nero (Klose 1987, 28-29), a wingless single goddess wearing long chiton and himation on those of the reign of Domitian (*SNG Copenhagen*, Ionia 1245), and the standard Smyrna type on other Domitianic coins (*BMC Ionia* 250.133; 252.146). The earliest apparent application of wings to the Smyrna Nemesis with chiton and himation occurs in twin statues from the theater at Thasos dated to the reign of Hadrian (Rolley 1964, 502-503).

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[1] There are Nemeseis with identical attributes from Ephesus (Fleischer 1978, 392-96, pl. 77), Thasos (Mendel 1914, 75-77.862; Gercke 1983, 528-29), and Tomis (Vulpe & Barnea 1968, fig. 72). Nemeseis or individual Nemesis figures with the typical Smyrna attributes but different clothing were found at Cavdarli (Robert 1982, 376-77, fig. 29), Ephesus (Fleischer 1978, 392-96, pl. 77), Tomis (Vulpe & Barnea 1968, fig. 72), and on some coin issues of Smyrna (*SNG Copenhagen* Ionia 1237-41,1245).

The clothing differences in the Smyrniote representations of Nemesis might be said simply to reflect the character of the goddess being depicted, the winged one receiving an appropriate peplos. Another possiblity is that the peplos type is inspired not by the cult images of Nemesis at Smyrna but by Julio-Claudian types which are to be found on gems assigned to that period (Pannuti 1983, 62.91-93; Brandt & Schmidt 1970, 55.870-71; for example) and earlier coins of Vibius Varus (Vollenweider 1964, Taf. VII.2) or contemporary Nemesis-Pax coins of Claudius (Rostovetzeff 1926, 24). A possible confirmation of this theory may be the presence of the Nemesis-Pax type on the reverse of a Smyrna issue of Nero and Agrippina (*SNG Copenhagen*, Ionia 1352). The addition of the bridle, a typical attribute of the usual Smyrna Nemeseis, to such figures would simply have been made to give the image a local flavor.

Another possibility is that the Nemesis cult images at Smyrna could receive different clothing in the manner of the Artemis of Ephesos and other related statues studied by Fleischer (1974). The peplos-wearing images of Nemesis would in this case reflect only one form of clothing given to the Nemeseis, perhaps an earlier fashion which influenced the Roman Republican and Julio-Claudian representations of the goddess. We would thereby understand why we cannot find any representation of the Archaic statues of the Nemeseis. It would also explain Schweitzer's (1931, 205) association of the images with the Hellenistic Tyche type. If one believes Pausanias' story of Alexander's dream (*Graecae descriptio* 7.5.2-4), perhaps the cult images of the temple on Mt. Pagus would have received an updated set of garments after the foundation of New Smyrna. If one accepts the contention (Parke 1985, 127-28) that the foundation legend was created in the Roman era, the new coinage depicting the goddesses in clothing inspired from a Hellenistic prototype can be explained as a municipal attempt to allude visibly to the story by both the images themselves and the coins, in a manner similar to the more specific allusion found on city coinage first issued under Hadrian (Posnansky 1890, 135) in the form of a depiction of Alexander's dream itself.

Alexandria in Egypt is another place with a pre-Roman Nemesis cult. An inscription from Memphis of 110 B.C. (Appendix Two, no. 51) and Papyrus Berlin 13954 dated in the first century B.C. (Appendix Two, no. 60) indicate a temple of Nemesis. A second Nemeseion was built at the place where Pompey's severed head was presented to Caesar; it was destroyed during the Jewish Diaspora Revolt of 116/7 (Appian *Bella Civilia* II.90).

The Memphis reference to two Nemeseis, and Roman double representations from Egypt, such as those on a base in Turin (Volkmann 1934, 72-74, figs. 1-3), seem to imply that the cult image at the Alexandria temple was either derived from the Smyrna Nemeseis or influenced by them (Schweitzer 1931, 176, 205, 207, 210; Volkmann 1928, 304; 1934, 72). The statue of the goddess at the temple built by Caesar has been suggested to be that of Pax-Nemesis appearing on Roman coinage of Claudius, Vespasian, Trajan, and Hadrian, mainly because of the connection of the image on the coinage of Trajan with an obverse of Divus Julius (Rostovtzeff 1926, 24-28).

Also originating in Egypt is another iconographic type of Nemesis datable at its earliest by Alexandrian bronze coins of 108/9, 109/10, 111/2 (Christiansen 1988, 152, 159). The goddess, winged, sometimes wearing a long belted peplos or chiton and sometimes a cuirass, stands upon the prone body of a male or female figure (Schweitzer 1931, 210; Rolley 1964, 502). This type will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. The association of Nemesis with the griffin, marked by the appearance of the wheel together with that beast, was thought to have begun in Roman Egypt, first appearing on Alexandrian coins in the reign of Domitian (Flagge 1976, 115) and on a relief in Egyptian style probably from the same reign (Flagge 1976, 115, abb. 138). This association shall also be further analyzed in the next chapter of this study.

CHAPTER TWO

NEMESIS AND THE ROMAN STATE

Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis Historia* 11.251.3-4, 28.22.5-6) refers to a statue of Nemesis on the Capitoline. This means that by 77 A.C., when the work was published, Nemesis had received an official place in Roman state religion. Exactly when this occurred is uncertain. It would be tempting to connect it with the earliest Latin literary appearances of the goddess, in Catullus (50.18-21, 64.392-93, 66.69-78, 68.79). The generally erotic context of such occurrences suggests, however, that Nemesis could have found her way into Catullus via the influence of Hellenistic erotic poetry, like that of Meleager of Gadara (*Anthologia Graeca* XII.33, 141). In order to more fully explore the connection of the goddess with the Roman state we must turn to evidence for the association of Nemesis with the emperor.

NEMESIS AND THE EMPEROR

The relationship between the goddess Nemesis and the emperor can be traced to the time of Julius Caesar. Writing in the second century A.C., Appian (*Bella Civilia* II.90) tells us that Caesar, upon receipt of the head of Pompey in Alexandria, had it interred at a spot which was to be consecrated as a temenos of Nemesis. Scholars (Rostovtzeff 1926, 25; Volkmann 1928, 304-305) have aptly pointed out that such an act was undertaken because of Caesar's view of Pompey as a *hubristes* who had started the civil war, and thus fitting nicely with the role of Nemesis as punisher of hubris. The cult of Nemesis was already well known in Ptolemaic Alexandria, where double Nemeseis were apparently revered (Volkmann 1928, 304-305; Appendix Two, nos. 51, 60). The temenos established by the Romans was subsequently destroyed in the Jewish Revolt of 115-117 A.C. (Appian *Bella Civilia* II.90).

It is generally assumed that there was a cult statue of Nemesis at Caesar's temenos (Rostovtzeff 1926, 25). We are not entirely certain of the character of this image. Rostovtzeff (1926, 24-29) argues that a representation appearing on the reverse of Imperial silver *denarii* of Claudius (Plate I.1), Vespasian (Plate I.2), Trajan with Divus Iulius on the obverse (Plate I.3), and Hadrian (Plate I.4), is in fact the statue of Nemesis from the Caesarean Nemeseion. This figure is a winged woman wearing a long garment, making the characteristic Nemesis gesture with her right hand, and with her left hand pointing a caduceus at a snake (on the Hadrianic issue she points a branch down towards the ground line). Rostovtzeff believes that a letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians, mentioning the attempt by the latter to erect a statue of Pax Augusta Claudiana, can be chronologically linked to Claudius's first issue of coins with the Nemesis reverse and the legend "Paci Augustae", thereby establishing an association of the image with Alexandria. Further, Rostovtzeff suggests that the image is to be connected with Caesar's cult statue because of its subsequent appearance on the Divus Iulius "restoration" coinage of Trajan. Finally the theory is posited that each appearance of the image can be linked with an imperial victory over rebellion or dissent in Egypt (Rostovtzeff 1926, 25-28).

Volkmann (1928, 306, note 3), interpreting the Claudian letter differently, argues against linking the coin image to the cult statue of the Nemeseion. It may be added that any chronological association of the image on the coins with specific disturbances in Egypt is difficult to maintain because of the many different years, especially within the reign of Claudius (41-42, 43-44, 44-45, 46-47, 49-50, 50-51, 51-52 A.C.), in which the same reverse type appears (Banti & Simonetti 1977, 184-97, nos. 296-323). Its frequency also would seem to preclude a particular link with the letter to Alexandria.

The connection of the image with a Caesar obverse might be taken as support for Rostovtzeff's ideas, but other suggestions are possible. First, Mattingly (1936, xci-ii) dates the entire "restoration" series to 107 A.C., therefore disassociating the Caesar/Nemesis issue from the disturbances in Alexandria in 109/110 as Rostovtzeff (1926, 26-27) had suggested, or from the restoration of the Nemeseion by Trajan after the Jewish Revolt of 115-117 A.C. Further, Mattingly pointed out that, within Trajan's "restoration" coinage series, the reverse types and legends on the Imperial coins are seldom distinctive for the particular emperors on the obverse and were in many instances never struck by them. Instead they seem to have been selected by Trajan as appropriate, in his eyes, for the significance of each emperor. In the case of the Nemesis on the Caesar reverse, the resolution of the first Civil War, and the story of the fate of Pompey's head current at the time, as Appian demonstrates, would be sufficient for the choice of a Nemesis-Pax, probably duplicated from coinage issues of Claudius. The particular association with the Alexandria Nemesis cult statue would thereby be brought back to the Claudian coinage, an association which is in itself, as we have seen, problematic.

While the appearance of the cult statue in Alexandria may remain open, the coin image itself is highly significant, and forms the next piece of evidence for a connection of Nemesis with the emperor. The gesture of the represented female is unmistakably that of Nemesis, but the accompanying legend in the Claudian and Vespasianic issues reads "Paci Augustae/Augusti", and "Victoria Aug." in the Hadrianic issue. It would seem that Nemesis is here being conflated with two of the most important imperial virtues, Pax and Victoria. The legends and the image together suggest the active role of Nemesis, according to imperial monetary propaganda, in the achievement of both imperial victory and the peace which it brings.

Nemesis, although generally rare on imperial coinage, appears again on the reverses of coinage issued by two other emperors. On a bronze *sestertius* issue of Lucius Verus minted in Rome she appears making her gesture and holding an uncertain object, and accompanied by the legend SC (Mattingly 1940, 609). On the reverse of a silver *antoninianus* issue of Aemilian from 253 A.C., perhaps minted in the Balkans, Nemesis appears standing left, making her typical gesture, with a wheel at her feet. She is accompanied by a figure of Victory and the legend "Victoria Aug." (Robertson 1977, cxi).

Nemesis may also be found on gems and cameos of the late Republic and the Julio-Claudian Dynasty. A wingless Nemesis in a long garment, making her typical gesture, appears on a gem accompanied by three intertwined hands (Vollenweider 1964, pl. VII.6-7). The gem has been stylistically dated in the 40s B.C., and the hands have been interpreted as a symbol of *concordia* within the Second Triumvirate (Vollenweider 1964, 8). Nemesis has also been suggested to occur on an imperial cameo presently in Stuttgart (Vollenweider 1964). This sardonyx cameo depicts, facing an enthroned Jupiter, a woman in a long chiton and mantle which is drawn over the back of her head; she is wearing a crown, and is seen by Vollenweider as making the typical Nemesis gesture with her left hand while holding a bridle in her right hand (Plate II). This figure has been considered Nemesis assimilated to Juno (Vollenweider 1964, 7), an association supported by a later inscription (Appendix Two, no. 3). Vollenweider also argues that the faces of Nemesis and Jupiter have portrait traits of Agrippina the Younger and Claudius. On this basis and because of the style of the carving, she attributes the cameo to the reign of Claudius, between the time when Agrippina was voted Augusta by the Senate and Claudius' death (49/50 to 54 A.C.) (Vollenweider 1964, 7, 9).

Strong criticism has been levelled both against Vollenweider's interpretation of the female figure as Nemesis and her dating of the cameo. Bielefeld (1966, 374-75) believes that the figure is simply Juno. He points out that the gesture, interpreted by Vollenweider as the typical Nemesis gesture, exhibits no evidence of an actual grasp of the drapery, and is better considered as one of readiness to take hold, not of the neck of the chiton, but of the veil. In this interpretation the incipient gesture would be one of *anakalypsis*, appropriate to Juno confronting Jupiter, and not the spitting of Nemesis. In addition, Bielefeld finds an accord between this idea and a proper understanding of the right hand of the figure. He sees no bridle there, correctly pointing out the very different character of the typical Nemesis bridle, which drops vertically from her hand, from this representation. Instead, he suggests that what we see here is the well known gesture of pulling the dress aside, which appears already in Archaic korai.

Examining the iconography of the Nemesis bridle on coinage and in sculpture (Plate I.5), one can see that Bielefeld is no doubt correct with regard to the bridle question. However, it is not visibly evident that his interpretation of the action of the right hand is correct. The carving makes any meaning for the activity or object here very difficult to comprehend. Even if we agree with Bielefeld that we have here a gesture of pulling at the dress we should not exclude the identity of the figure as Nemesis on that basis, since coin issues and gems from the second and third centuries A.C., and perhaps as early as the last century B.C., show Nemesis clearly doing her typical gesture, sometimes accompanied by other attributes like the wheel, and also pulling at her dress.[1] Furthermore, Bielefeld's rejection of the gesture of the left hand as the typical Nemesis gesture is also generally confirmed by an examination of several clear Nemesis images, but on occasion, where the identity of the goddess is clearly established as Nemesis by other attributes, the gesture has been so cursorily treated that it can appear to be much like that on the Stuttgart cameo (Plate III).

Several scholars have contested the Claudian date for the cameo. Noll (1967, 127-129) has pointed out that it is extremely difficult to see the portraits of Claudius and Agrippina in the figures on the cameo, especially Claudius in the bearded Jupiter. He suggests instead that the most likely date for the piece is Severan. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta (1966, 97-98), on the other hand, has dated the cameo to the time of Constantine, seeing the

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[1] All of the following items show Nemesis making her typical gesture. Gems: One in Bologna dated stylistically to the first 1/2 of the first century B.C. (Mandrioli Bizzarri 1987, 46.14, fig. 14); one from Caesarea Maritima dated stylistically to the second century A.C. (Hamburger 1968, 32.93, pl. IV.93); and five in Berlin showing Nemesis with butterfly wings (Nemesis-Psyche) dated stylistically by Furtwängler (1896, 64, nos. 947-51) to the fifth or fourth century B.C.

Coins: From Miletos a bronze issue of Antoninus Pius showing two Nemeseis with Apollo on the reverse, one Nemesis holding a measuring stick, the other holding her dress (Posnansky 1890, 140); from Samos bronze issues of Etruscilla (*BMC Ionia* 391.359, pl. XXXVII.16), and Gallienus (*BMC Ionia* 393.373, 374, 394.379; Posnansky 1890, 143) depicting Nemesis accompanied by a wheel; from Tium, a bronze issue of Marcus Aurelius showing Nemesis on the reverse accompanied by a wheel (Posnansky 1890, 143; *BMC Pontus* 205.10, pl. XXXVI.8).

Jupiter and Juno as representing Constantine and Fausta. The discrediting of the attempt to read actual portraits into the faces of the figures on this cameo, and the widely divergent stylistic chronological proposals render a firm date for the piece uncertain.

Whatever the date, if Vollenweider (1964, 7, 9) is correct in her suggestion that on the Stuttgart cameo the empress is portrayed as Nemesis, it would be highly significant that in association with a Jupiter/emperor, a Nemesis/empress was chosen instead of the more obvious pure Juno or Minerva. Such a choice would emphasize the close connection of Nemesis with the emperor himself.

We can find a parallel for the Nemesis/empress association in an inscription from the Nemeseion at Rhamnous, the date of which is not entirely certain but is most probably to be assigned to the reign of Claudius (Broneer 1932, 397-400; Dinsmoor 1961, 186-94; Miles 1989, 239). This inscription, on an architrave block, mentions the rededication of the temple to the cult of Thea Livia. It shows that the possible cameo link of an empress with Nemesis is not isolated, and provides a connection of imperial worship with perhaps the oldest and most famous Nemesis temple in the Greek world.

Closely connected with the Rhamnous dedication to Livia may be the use of copies of the cult image of Nemesis from that temple. Despinis' research (1971, 28-44) has shown that there are eleven extant Roman copies of the famous statue by Agorakritos. Of these, only three retain the original heads, and of these only one, a statue from Crete now in the Istanbul Museum, can be said to be a portrait (Despinis 1971, 30, no. 5). The identity of the woman depicted as the Rhamnousian Nemesis in this statue has been suggested as Livia (Ridgway 1984, 74). If the identification is correct, an additional piece of evidence for the association of Nemesis with the empress can be found.

Nemesis and Imperial Structures

Another connection with the emperor may perhaps be seen in the appearance of images of Nemesis in structures perhaps to be connected with ruler cult at Cyrene and Side. At Cyrene, Paribeni (1959, 146-47.424, pl. 183.424) published the fragmentary remains of a sandstone statue, discovered in 1938, which is plausibly identified as a Nemesis (Plate IV). The figure, of which only the portion below the hips survives, is standing frontally, wearing a long chiton covered with an archaistic arrangement of the himation, and is flanked on its right side by a seated winged griffin. The griffin alone need not indicate Nemesis, but the dress of the human figure probably characterizes it not only as female but also one of venerable antiquity. More importantly, however, the griffin's right forepaw is broken off at the shoulder, suggesting that the animal may have been turning the distinctive Nemesis attribute of the wheel, as in so many Nemesian griffin representations (see below). In addition, the statue was apparently a pendant to a Tyche from the same context, now unfortunately lost (Paribeni 1959, 146). The presence of a Tyche, with whom Nemesis has a history of association[2], would further support the Nemesis identity of the statue. As to the date of the latter, a stylistic attribution to the Hellenistic period (as noted in Paribeni 1959, 146-47) seems far too early given the use of the griffin as attribute, a feature which other evidence suggests may be no earlier than the Flavian period (see below).

The Nemesis statue was uncovered in one of the niches of the apse of the basilica within the architectural complex of the Kaisareion (Caesareum), a rectangular structure measuring 95.55 x 83.80 m. and composed of three connected Doric porticoes, the basilica, and a small distyle in antis temple in the center.[3] This complex is commonly termed the Kaisareion because of an inscription of uncertain date (Ward-Perkins & Ballance 1958, 160, no. 2; Gasperini 1971, 9-10, nos. C3-C4) from the interior and exterior architraves of the east propylon which refers to the entire complex as "[P]orticus C[ae]saris". A Hadrianic inscription, although not found in the complex, refers to the restoration of a building, apparently after the Jewish revolt of 115-117, most plausibly to be read in the Greek and Latin texts as Kai[sareion] and [Caesareu]m (Ward-Perkins & Ballance 1958, 162, no. 5;

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[2] The connection between Tyche/Fortuna and Nemesis can certainly be established for the Imperial period (*CIL* III.1125; Egger 1926, 59-60; *Historia Augusta* Max. 8.6.2-7.1; Iconography: a brown sardonyx in London, dated stylistically to the reign of Augustus, showing a winged Nemesis standing upon a globe, making her gesture with her left hand, and steering a rudder with her right--Vollenweider 1964, pl. VIII.1; a jasper in Vienna, dated stylistically to the second century A.C., showing a standard image of Fortuna, with cornucopia and steering rudder, being crowned by Nike, here accompanied by a Greek inscription asking mercy from Lady Nemesis--Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, 156.1216, pl. 106.1216; a gem paste in the Antiquarium at Berlin depicting Nemesis and Fortuna with their typical attributes facing one another--Furtwängler 1896, 87.1521, fig. 1521; a carnelian in Munich, dated stylistically to the second or third century A.C., showing Nemesis making her gesture and holding a steering rudder,with a wheel at her feet--Brandt, et al. 1972, 80.2616, pl. 242.2616; a coin issue of Kyzikos under Gallienus depicting Nemesis with the steering rudder--*BMC Mysia*, 45.205; a graffito showing Nemesis and Tyche from Baalbek-Heliopolis--Wiegand 1924, 1278, fig. 180; statue from the theater at Ephesos, dated stylistically to the late second or early third century A.C., portraying Nemesis with a cornucopia in her left hand and perhaps a rudder, now broken--Schweitzer 1931, 208, fig. 9). This association apparently extends back into the Hellenistic era (*IG* IV.1/2.311), and even perhaps into the fifth century B.C. (Euripides ? Frag. in Stobaeus, *Florilegium* 362.5; Shapiro 1986, pl. 1).

[3] For a comprehensive bibliography of the Caesareum, see Ward-Perkins & Ballance (1958, 137-94) and the notes cited therein.

Gasperini 1971, 10-11, no. C5). The history and function of this building are not entirely certain. According to the most recent excavations, it may have begun (without basilica or temple) as a second century B.C. gymnasion, was perhaps dedicated in the late Hellenistic period to one of the Ptolemies as a Ptolemaion, was rededicated to Julius Caesar (or to Augustus—Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 226) sometime during the first century A.C., and was converted into a forum with the addition of the basilica in the second half of the first century A.C., receiving the temple within the large open court during the late second century A.C.[4]

The crucial question about the dating of the rededication of the complex to the worship of the emperor remains unresolved. Because of a posited connection between the east propylon inscriptions calling the building the porticus Caesaris and an architrave inscription fragment mentioning C. Rubellius Blandus, who was a suffect consul in 18 A.C., it has usually been assumed that the rededication of the complex was no later than this time (Sjöqvist 1954, 99; Ward-Perkins & Ballance 1958, 160). Stucchi (1975, 206), following Gasperini's (1971, 7-8, no. C2) disassociation of the Blandus fragment from the porticus Caesaris inscriptions, prefers a date during the reign of Vespasian when an inscription from elsewhere at Cyrene mentions the rededication of the Ptolemaion to the Roman People. Most recently, Hänlein-Schäfer (1985, 225) returns to the earlier date. Whatever its history, it seems certain that sometime within the first century A.C., thus perhaps before the Nemesis image was added, the building was already associated with some form of imperial cult.

In addition, the possible earlier function of the building as a Ptolemaion is highly significant. The study by Sjöqvist (1954, 86-108) of the building at Cyrene in relation to the famous Caesarea at Alexandria and Antioch known through literature has yielded the suggestion that the Kaisareion at Cyrene has its architectural prototype in the more famous Alexandria building, which in turn would be derived from Ptolemaic ruler-cult complexes like that at Ashmunein. If Sjöqvist's formal derivation is correct, the Kaisareion at Cyrene would fit beautifully into his theory as an earlier Ptolemaion. Even if the Cyrene Kaisareion began as a gymnasion (and this is not certain), thereby invalidating Sjöqvist's architectural "iconographic" interpretation for the form of the building, the functional ruler-cult associations would further support the identification of the complex as a place for Roman imperial cult.

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[4] Gasperini 1971, 1; Stucchi 1975, 204-208; Luni 1976, 223-28. The identification of the Caesareum complex as originally the gymnasion of Hellenistic Cyrene is made on the basis of the following: 1) the unit of measure used in the foundations of the complex and the presence of still unpublished second century B.C. ceramics in those foundations suggest a Hellenistic origin for the building; 2) we know from inscriptions, not from the Caesareum however, that there was a gymnasion at Cyrene in this period; and 3) the complex taken together with the neighboring "Portico of the Herms" is well suited dimensionally and formally for a palaestra and accompanying *xystos* with parallels elsewhere in the Hellenistic world (Stucchi 1975, 125-27, 207). White (1977, 624) has questioned the legitimacy of such a conclusion because no excavations have yet revealed the "Portico of the Herms" to be indisputably a *xystos*. The further association of the complex with inscriptions referring to a Ptolemaion is also seen as unwarranted by White because of the provenience of such references from outside the Caesareum itself.

The connection of a Nemesis image with a place of Roman ruler worship is therefore quite likely. It would be even stronger if one could pinpoint the exact location of the ruler-cult in the apse of the basilica where the Nemesis image was found. Ward-Perkins (1958, 158) believed that this is where there was provision for the worship of the emperor, although he never really explains why he makes such a supposition. Stucchi (1975, 245) believes that at least by the late second century A.C., when he suggests the temple in the courtyard was constructed, the focus of the imperial cult was in that building. He assumes that the fragment of a Zeus statue from one of the porticoes of the complex actually came from the temple and was really Divus Hadrianus as Zeus. However, the obviously tentative nature of the identification of a figure whose feet alone remain with Divus Hadrianus as Zeus, as well as the actual find spot of the fragment make the identification of the temple as that of the divine Hadrian highly conjectural (Walker 1978, 223). In fact the only statues found in the temple itself were one of Dionysos and part of a panther discovered in the nineteenth century (Sjöqvist 1954, 103-104; Ward-Perkins & Ballance 1958, 158; Walker 1978, 223). In addition, even if the temple was the focus of the imperial cult, its late date compared to the rest of the complex requires an earlier cult place for the latter to have already been considered a Kaisareion.

Ward-Perkins' suggestion of the apse of the basilica as the locus of imperial worship has much to commend it. Despite the fact that a fragmentary Latin inscription seems to indicate mercantile activities in the basilica (Gasperini 1971, 15-16, no. B2), a statue base from the apse bears a dedication to Hadrian by the people of Cyrene. There is also the Malalas passage regarding the Kaisareion at Antioch which, despite the imprecise description, seems to locate the imperial cult in an apse of one of the four porticoes (Sjöqvist 1954, 92). In addition, if Stucchi (1975, 206) is correct in his suggestion that the monument was not rededicated to Caesar until the reign of Vespasian, and that the basilica, which has a *terminus ante quem* in the Jewish revolt of 115-117 A.C. (Ward-Perkins & Ballance1958, 161-62, nos. 4 & 6), was built at about the same time, then the coincidence of the dedication and the erection of the basilica seems to favor the basilica as locus of imperial cult.

At Side a marble statue of Nemesis was discovered in Building M, a quadriporticus complex some 69.2 x 88.5 m. bordered on its northeast side by three rooms, the central one (26.45 x 15.20 m.) lavishly adorned with marble decorative architectural elements and statuary (Mansel 1963, 109-121). The statue had been placed in a niche at the east corner of the central room (Inan 1975, 101-102, no.37, pl. XLVII.1-3). The headless figure, without its plinth, measures 1.82 m. in height. The goddess is wearing a long chiton and a himation. Her arms are broken but enough remains to discern that her right arm was bent at the elbow, undoubtedly for the typical Nemesis gesture of spitting into the folds of her chiton. That she is indeed Nemesis is demonstrated by the sole remaining attribute of a winged griffin sitting by her right foot and which would have rested his left forepaw on a wheel, remains of which were discovered.

The central room also contained niches for several other statues in its preserved lower level and undoubtedly additional niches in a second level given the abundance of marble statuary discovered there. Other than Nemesis, statues of Apollo, Ares, Hermes, Asklepios, Herakles, Hygieia, and Nike were uncovered (Mansel 1963, 118). There were also fragments of athletic sculptures, and from the central niche of the room came a cuirassed statue of an emperor, the cuirass stylistically associated with Antoninus Pius, but the portrait head being that of a third century emperor (Mansel 1963, 118).

The function of the entire complex has not been resolved. Its shape is suggestive of the palaestra of a gymnasion. Since no gymnasion has yet been uncovered at Side, it is tempting to see Building M as a gymnasion (Mansel 1963, 118-20; Bean 1968, 95). However, the excavators themselves find difficulties with this idea since there is no evidence for any subsidiary washrooms or baths, as usual in Roman gymnasia (Mansel 1963, 120-21). More recently, the likelihood has been raised that Building M represents a second city agora, the State Agora (Mansel 1978, 183-86), an idea which has gained some acceptance (Akurgal 1978, 340; Yegül 1982, 19, n.63).

Whatever the function of the complex as a whole, the central room of the northwestern wing where the Nemesis statue was found has been seen as connected with the emperor, perhaps a place for imperial cult (Bean 1968, 63). The central room of Building M fits architecturally into a group of halls in Asia Minor usually found in Imperial bath-gymnasion complexes, halls which are usually termed *Kaisersäle* (Yegül 1982, 19, n.63). The function of these halls is not entirely certain but there is a strong probability that they were places for imperial cult. Whatever one thinks of his interpretation of the decorative imagery in these halls, Yegül (1982, 7-31) has shown that the presence of an altar before the central apse in the

Vedius complex at Ephesos, the epigraphic evidence for the emperor as a god discovered in the Middle Gymnasion at Pergamon, and the Hellenistic precedents for ruler cult in gymnasia all combine to lend credence to the concept of these rooms as foci of imperial cult.[5] At Side itself, the centrality of the imperial image, taken along with the architectural framework into which its hall fits, suggests the room as a place of imperial cult.

Nemesis and the Griffin

The association of Nemesis with the griffin already noted in the Cyrene and Side statues may provide additional evidence for associating the goddess and the Roman emperor. Not only does Nemesis appear accompanied by a griffin, but a griffin often appears alone with one of its forepaws resting on a wheel. The initial association between the goddess and the griffin is perhaps most safely placed in the Roman Imperial period. The earliest well-dated example is a Vespasianic wall painting in the House of the Fabii at Pompeii featuring Apollo as judge in a beauty contest between Venus and Vesper, and with a winged griffin resting its right forepaw on a wheel behind Apollo's right shoulder (Simon 1984, 421; interpreted as a scene of Apollo, Bacchus and Venus by Elia 1962, 119-120).

The next earliest evidence for the griffin with a wheel comes from Roman Egypt. It is found on Alexandrian bronze coinage of the reign of Domitian (Plate I.6), and on a relief naiskos in indigenous style depicting a Roman emperor, probably Domitian, as pharaoh offering Ma'at to Re-Harakhty (Flagge 1976, 155, fig. 138). Attempts to push the association with Nemesis back into the Julio-Claudian era have been made by Simon (1962, 770-80) and Zanker (1987, 87-88). However, neither is convincing, as the examples cited by them never appear with a figure which can be clearly identified as the goddess and never themselves bear any distinctive Nemesis attribute like the wheel.[6] Probably late in the first century A.C. or early in the second, the type of the griffin with a wheel appears on bullae from the *nomophylakeion* at Cyrene (Maddoli 1963-64, 123.830-36, fig. 40.830-36), and in the second century and later, it and the image of Nemesis accompanied by a griffin (usually with a wheel) occur on the coinage of

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[5] Price (1984, 144) argues that none of these halls have imperial statues, but there is one at Side and the other evidence discusssed by Yegül (1982) makes for a persuasive case.

[6] The Verona frieze cited by Simon (1962, 771-72) can be interpreted just as easily as Nike reining in griffins; the English translation of Zanker's book (1988, 87-88) is incorrect--no figure of Nemesis is extant from the Apollo Palatinus Temple door plaques, only griffins (Zanker, private communication 1990).

Smyrna and other cities, in statues, funerary and votive reliefs, and numerous gems.[7]

Recently, a possible Hellenistic example of the connection has been identified, on a funerary stele from Apollonia in Albania which depicts a griffin between two enthroned figures apparently making the Nemesis gesture (Franke 1983, 58-59, fig. 113). This monument is dated to the first quarter of the second century B.C. by its typological affiliations and the presence on it of a Macedonian shield. However, since the griffin is found with Nemesis in every other instance known to me only from the Roman Imperial period, and since the Macedonian shield continues to appear as an identifying mark of Macedonia on Macedonian Confederacy coinage from Vespasian until the end of the second century A.C. (Price 1974, 35), one can be more cautious regarding the date of the stele. As to typology, one must reserve judgement about the date of the stele until it is more fully published.

For the moment, the iconography of a griffin with a wheel actually predates the earliest extant examples of Nemesis accompanied by the griffin. It seems clear, however, that the griffin with the wheel is to be associated with Nemesis. Figures with clear attributes of Nemesis are often iconographically shown accompanied by a griffin with wheel in the second and third centuries A.C.[8] There also exists a limestone mould, probably datable to the second century A.C., which bears on one side a depiction of Elpis and on the other that of a griffin with a wheel accompanied by the explicit inscription "Nemesis Nikea (or Dikea)" (Perdrizet 1914, 94-95, fig. 3; Daux 1942-43, 140-43; Flagge 1976, fig. 216) (Plate V). It has been questioned whether the griffin with a wheel should always be connected with Nemesis (Posnansky 1890, 110-11; Volkmann 1938, 297, note 2). The problem of the image together with the seemingly inappropriate figure of Herakles on Antonine coins from the Herakleopolitan nome in Egypt has been alleviated by the recent discovery of a first century B.C. papyrus from the same area which mentions an altar to Nemesis and Herakles (Quaegebeur 1983, 53). However, given the earlier occurrence of the griffin with the wheel alone, the question remains whether one can firmly establish the connection with Nemesis already in the first century A.C.

In order to answer this question one must turn to the evidence for the wheel as an attribute of Nemesis. The wheel is often considered as properly an attribute of the Greek Tyche and of the Roman Fortuna when this deity is assimilated to Tyche (hence to be termed Tyche/Fortuna), and as a mark, in its attribution to Nemesis, of a conflation with this goddess.[9] Certainly, as we have seen, there is a connection between Tyche/Fortuna and Nemesis extending back into the Hellenistic era and perhaps into the fifth century B.C. (cf. note 3), and the literary references to the wheel as an attribute of Tyche/Fortuna (Cicero, *In Pisonem* 22; Tibullus 1.5.70) are earlier than those to it as one of Nemesis. However, the wheel appears iconographically earlier as an attribute of Nemesis.[10] Moreover, the wheel was never a regular attribute of Tyche/Fortuna in Roman art—her standard ones being the cornucopiae and the rudder (sometimes on a globe)—and it was confined mainly to a few statues and reliefs from Belgica and Germania and to late second and third century A.C. coin images of Tyche/Fortuna as Panthea (Champeaux 1982, 211; Kajanto 1981, 518-20). Thus, the iconographic priority in date and currency of the association of Nemesis with the wheel may be taken to support the idea that when someone saw the griffin with a wheel even in the first century A.C., he understood that an association with Nemesis, not Tyche, was meant.

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[7] See Appendix 3.

[8] See Appendix 3.

Even the literary sources do not entirely preclude that the wheel might be associated just as appropriately with Nemesis as with Tyche/Fortuna, thereby negating the idea that the attribute had to have been borrowed at some point by the former from the latter. In literature the wheel (*trochos*, *rota*) appears mainly as a symbol of the constant shifting and turning of the affairs of man, from success to failure and back again. It already occurs in Sophocles (Pearson Fragment 871) and perhaps in Aeschylus (or Sophocles—Pearson Fragment 575; cf. also Reinhardt 1934, 257-58). The idea of the tossing and turning of human fortunes expressed by the wheel image is embodied earlier by the idea of a circle (*kyklos*) (Herodotus I.207) or waves (Pindar, *Olympia* 12.6). While this imagery remains generic in its earliest attestations, never clearly associated with a personified Tyche, it seems extremely apt for that goddess as she is emerging in the fifth century B.C. and later as the embodiment of the unpredictable and fickle turns of events in human lives, the expression of a blind chance which ignores merits in bringing success and failure.[11]

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[9] The wheel is called the "wheel of Tyche" or the "wheel of Fortune" in most standard treatments of Nemesis: cf. Rossbach (1897-1902, 158), Herter (1935, 2375).

[10] On a silver bowl discovered in a first century B.C. Sarmatian burial at Novocherkassk in the USSR, itself possibly dating even earlier, stands Nemesis, identifiable by her typical spitting gesture, on a pedestal (a statue perhaps), holding in her right hand a wheel, in a scene of the punishment of Eros for his tormenting of Psyche (Koposhina 1963, 256-58, pl. XXX). A possibly even earlier example of the connection of Nemesis with the wheel may be found in the Archaic bronze wheel, bearing a dedicatory inscription of Herodoros, discovered in a well at the Nemesis sanctuary at Rhamnous (Petrakos 1984, 54, fig. 77). On the other hand, the earliest occurrence of the wheel as an attribute of Tyche/Fortuna is found in a wall painting of the first century A.C. in an auxiliary commander's headquarters at Echzell, Germany (Schultz 1985, 104-105, figs. 114-15). Moreover, the wheel is never a regular attribute of Tyche/Fortuna in the art of the Roman period, being confined to a painted altar from the time of Hadrian (Mielsch 1981, 224, pl. XVII.23), to a small number of statues, and to some coin issues bearing an image of Tyche as Panthea (Kajanto 1981, 520-21).

In the literary and epigraphic sources, instead of being a symbol of blind chance, the wheel becomes associated with Nemesis' distinctive role in meting out "just punishments" to those who merit them, laying low not just anyone but particularly the arrogant. Marcellus of Side invokes the wheel of Nemesis as an "avenging wheel" which will punish, and describes wickedness as being rolled about by Nemesis and the wheel (Appendix Two, no. 153). Both Claudian (*De Bello Gothico* 631-32) and Nonnus (*Dionysiaca* 48.380-83) treat the wheel of Nemesis as related to her punishing the arrogant. The same idea is found in the image of the Nemesis holding the wheel on the Hellenistic silver bowl from Novocherkassk, where the association occurs in the context of the punishment of Eros for his misbehavior in his relationship with Psyche[12] Even the second century A.C. hymn of Mesomedes, although expressing a chance-like symbolism for the wheel akin to that of Tyche, sandwiches the idea between clear references to Nemesis' destruction of the arrogant, which is in fact the general gist of the entire hymn. Only Vettius Valens (1.261.26-262.2) treats the symbolism of Nemesis' wheel exactly in the same fashion as that of Tyche. Therefore, one might concur with a suggestion by Charles Edwards (1990, 532-33, note 18) that the wheel of Nemesis is independent in origin and normally in symbolic value from that of Tyche/Fortuna, deriving from the use of the wheel as an instrument of punishment especially for hubris, as in the myth of Ixion.

Even if one accepts that Nemesis' wheel originated in the literary image of the cyclical movement of human fortunes, the attribute may still be appropriate to Nemesis herself without any assimilation with Tyche. As stated in the introduction, a good case can be made that the more negative, capricious aspects of Nemesis seen in some Roman literary sources (*Anthologia Graeca* X.123; Chariton, *Chareas et Callirhoe* 3.8.6.5-6; Vettius Valens 1.261.26-262.2) may form part of an older concept of Nemesis intimately connected with early ideas of divine capriciousness. If this is in fact so, the predominant literary symbolism of the wheel in the fifth century B.C. and later could be as appropriate to Nemesis as to Tyche. This conclusion favors even more strongly an original association of the griffin with the wheel and Nemesis.

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[11] On Tyche, see Kajanto (1981, 526-31), and the references there.

[12] Supra n. 11. The torture of Psyche by Erotes is actually depicted on a matching bowl from the same tomb (Koposhina 1963, 256-58). The idea of the wheel representing not only the fickle turns of human fortune but just deserts can perhaps already be found in some of the earliest literary uses of the circle or wheel imagery. In Herodotus (I.207) the image is significantly used by Kroisos, apparently a victim of divine fickleness, who is in fact brought down because of his own improper understanding of an Apolline oracle and because of the sins of his ancestor. In addition, it would be highly significant if Pearson Fragment 575 is Aeschylean. Aeschylus is thought by some scholars (Winnington-Ingram 1983, 1-15) to attack the idea of divine capriciousness and to associate sufferings with the victim's own guilt. Under such an interpretation in our particular fragment, the king who has lost his kingship might lament the whims of fortune, but the audience would be clearly intended, knowing the king's own ill deeds, to understand the wheel imagery in a way closer to symbolizing just retribution.

The basis for the association of the creature with the goddess has been sought in several directions. Typically, the association is thought to arise in Egypt through the syncretism between a purely Greek goddess and an Egyptian divine figure of similar characteristics (Flagge 1976, 127). Another suggestion is that the griffin as Nemesis in Egypt actually represents a Greek name given to an indigenous religious concept, in a manner similar to the Greek appellation *Agathos Daimon* given to the essentially Egyptian deity *(P)shaï* (Quaegebeur 1983, 42). This second theory rests upon the assumption that the Egyptian term *petbe* , meaning vengeance, which is first presented as a divine being in demotic papyri of the Roman period, reflects an indigenous divine entity called by the Greeks and Greek speakers in Egypt by the name of the similar Greek divinity Nemesis. In support, it is pointed out that a being termed "Petbe" in the second century A.C. Leiden Papyrus I.384 is described as a griffin (Quaegebeur 1983, 52), and that Petbe in the Coptic papyrus of Shenoute from the fifth century A.C. is identified with the planet Kronos (Saturn), just as Nemesis is already in the second century A.C. (Vettius Valens 2.22).

However, since both of these sources post-date the association of Nemesis with the griffin and with Kronos, it is impossible to determine convincingly whether the indigenous Petbe was independently associated with the griffin (and with Kronos) and is thus the source of Nemesis' connection with that creature (and the planet), or whether the influence goes in the other direction. It has in fact been argued that even the appearance of the personified Petbe may be due to Greek influence (Brunner 1982, 992). While this is rejected by Quaegebeur (1983, 52), the later date of the Petbe material tends to support, if not that Petbe himself results from Greek influences, at least the idea that we witness a syncretism between Nemesis and an Egyptian figure.

It has been argued, both in the context of a full-fledged syncretism and in that of a purely Egyptian deity, that the griffin and Nemesis are associated because of their shared functions as figures of vengeance and dispensers of justice (Flagge 1976, 112-13, 127; Quaegebeur 1983, 50-52). Certainly that function of Nemesis is an essential one, dating back to the Classical period at least (Sophocles, *Electra* 792; Plato, *Leges* 717d.2) and still quite prevalent in the Roman era (Ovid, *Tristia* V.8.9; Mesomedes, *Hymnus in Nemesin*). The evidence for the function of the griffin in this capacity is perhaps deduceable from the frequent representation of the griffin from the Fifth Dynasty (Flagge 1976, 12) into the Roman era (Vandersleyen 1975, pl. 324) as the Pharaoh trampling enemies or from the protective function of the griffin in funerary contexts (Flagge 1976, 12-14, 34-43, 122). However, this characteristic only appears explicitly for the first time in the identification of the griffin with Petbe, who serves as the vengeful maintainer of law and order, the Eye of the Sun God, in the second century A.C. Leiden Papyrus I.384. Because the Leiden Payrus, as we have already pointed out, post-dates the earliest Nemesis-griffin associations, it is impossible to argue legitimately that any general retributive functions of the griffin are present before its association with Nemesis, and hence form the basis for that association itself.

The griffin-Nemesis connection is often thought to stem from both beings' solar connections. Nemesis is thought to acquire the griffin as an attribute because of her solar associations (Leibovitch 1958, 141). This suggestion was adopted by Mesnil du Buisson (1962, 387-94), who thought that the association arose in Syria, where Nemesis is connected to solar deities.[13] While this particular theory cannot be sustained in light of the earlier evidence from Egypt, the solar rationale for the connection itself has been advocated by many other scholars (Leibovitch 1958, 141; Simon 1962, 770; Elia 1962, 123; Barta 1973-74, 356; Flagge 1976, 112 [among other reasons]; Delplace 1980, 406-408 [among other reasons]). As recently as 1989, Papapostolou (1989, 376) writes: "the griffin with the wheel expresses the astral connections of Nemesis and her union with Helios".

The reasons for the solar explanation are several. In Egypt the griffin has an ancient and clear solar association, which links him intimately to the sun-god's functions of dispensing justice and maintaining law and order (Flagge 1976, 112-13). Nemesis, too, has solar associations, as explicitly stated by Macrobius (*Saturnalia* I.22). There is also the Syrian evidence mentioned above, the associations between Nemesis and the planet Kronos (Saturn) in Egypt (Vettius Valens 2.22) and between this planet and the Sun (Kronos as the Sun of the night), and the typical solar attribute of "all-seeing" applied to Nemesis (*Orphei Hymni*, line 2). There are coins from the early Imperial period minted at Rhodes which feature Helios on the obverse and a figure suggested by Schweitzer (1931, 179) to be Nemesis on the reverse. There is the already noted Leiden Papyrus with the avenging griffin Petbe associated with the Sun god, and also a papyrus in Lyon mentioning Nemesis in connection with Helios (Volkmann 1928, 302, no. 14; 310). Finally, and perhaps, most importantly, there is the wall painting from Pompeii which associates the Nemesis griffin with Apollo in what so far may be the earliest example of the type.

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[13] The occurrence of the connection in Syria was already noted by Seyrig (1932, 53-63), and is attested at Palmyra (Ingholt, Seyrig, Starcky 1955, 44, nos. 311-13), and Dura Europos (Baur & Rostovetzeff 1929, 47-48, no. 2).

However, the appearance of Nemesis on Rhodian Helios coin issues need not be indicative of any special connection with Helios because the Sun god is the standard obverse type for Rhodes in this same period (*BMC Caria*, pls. XLII-XLIII). It is even difficult to discern Nemesis in this figure (*BMC Caria*, 257.399-402, pls. XLIII.2-4) because it lacks her distinctive attributes. The Pompeii depiction of the Nemesis griffin with Apollo need not evoke any solar connection, if Simon (1984, 421) is correct in interpreting the scene as one of judgment. Since Nemesis already is seen by the first century B.C. as guardian of correct judgement in a contest (Appendix Two, no. 250), it seems likely that her role in the wall painting is similar.

None of Nemesis' clear solar connections predate the second century A.C. They thereby post-date the association of the griffin with Nemesis, and consequently cannot be used as convincing evidence for its origin. In fact, one may legitimately ask whether it is not the griffin association itself that provides a basis for Nemesis' later solar connections.

An additional possibility arises from the funerary connections of both Nemesis and the griffin (Flagge 1976, 113). Nemesis is associated with the dead, specifically as the protector of, and avenger of injustices to, the deceased, already in the Classical period (Sophocles, *Electra* 792) and also during the Roman period in inscriptions and representations on funerary stelae (Mansuelli 1958, 217, no. 225, fig. 234; Appendix Two, nos. 88, 237, 247). The griffin, prior to its association with Nemesis, is often seen in Egypt and elsewhere on the walls of funerary temples and on funerary altars, where its function seems to be to give support to, punish, and judge the deceased (Flagge 1976, 12-14, 34-43, 122). In addition, during the Roman era the typical Nemesis griffins with the wheel specifically occur on funerary monuments (Flagge 1976, 113-14, fig. 135; 120-21, figs. 147-48). However, it should be pointed out that, unless the Apollonia stele is indeed datable to the second century B.C., the earliest Nemesis griffins do not appear in funerary settings but in official contexts like the coinage, reliefs depicting the ruler, and bullae sealing documents in the state archives at Cyrene already mentioned above. One must thus wonder about the primacy of the funerary connections as a rationale for the griffin-Nemesis connection.

On the other hand, if the date given to the Apollonia stele is correct, the funerary explanation would be greatly strengthened.

We may therefore be brought by the chronological and contextual evidence to consider a final reason for the association of Nemesis with the griffin: the connections of both beings with the ruler (Flagge 1976, 108-111, 127; Quaegebeur 1983, 50-51). That the griffin, in addition to its other roles, and perhaps complementary to that of an embodiment of the Sun-God, is found in traditional Egyptian iconography and thought of as an embodiment of the Pharaoh is quite clear (Barta 1973-74, 348, 352; Flagge 1976, 12-13). The griffin appears already in the Fifth Dynasty wall reliefs of the funerary temple of Sahure at Saqqara in the typical kingly role of smiting the enemies (Flagge 1976, 12).[14] This image recurs in traditional Egyptian art during the Middle Kingdom, the New Kingdom, and as late as the first century A.C.[15] The king himself is also sometimes even spoken of as a griffin ("'hh") in Egyptian texts, as at Medinet Habu (Eggebrecht 1977, 895).

Nemesis also possesses an association with the ruler, prior to her connection with the griffin. As already seen, the coinage issues of Claudius bearing an image of Nemesis associate her with a typical imperial virtue, Pax Augusti, and the epigraphic evidence from Rhamnous, the possible testimony of the Jupiter Cameo, and the account of the connection between Caesar and the cult of Nemesis, significantly placed at Alexandria, all support such a connection between the Roman ruler and Nemesis prior to the griffin association with her.

Very significant is the fact that some of the earliest images of the Nemesis griffin appear on Alexandrian coinage of Domitian, coin types being a state sponsored enterprise of immense potential propaganda value (Sutherland 1976, 120-21; Harl 1987, 23; Christiensen 1988, 99, 248), and particularly on the aforementioned relief where the griffin with the wheel appears above the image of the goddess Ma'at offered to Re-Harakhty by the Roman emperor as pharaoh. This latter image perhaps suggests that the Nemesis griffin is related to the ruler as maintainer of law and order, an idea embodied in the traditional Egyptian pharaonic image of the griffin trampling or smiting enemies of the state, an idea perhaps also found in the earliest Nemesis associations with the ruler, where she brings Pax to the state.

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[14] The almost exclusively royal nature of such imagery is evident in Sliwa (1974, 97-104) and especially Hall (1986, 47-48), where it is shown that the imagery of smiting the enemy is rarely used for deities, for example, really explicitly only with Resheph, and then neither as early nor continuing as late as the royal depictions.

[15] The image appears on a pectoral of Sesostris III with cartouches containing that Pharaoh's names (Quaegebeur 1983, 43), on the wall of the Tomb of Kenamun at Thebes where the griffin wears the double crown (Barta 1973-74, 344, no. 19), and on the east exterior wall of the temple at Dendera as decoration on the loincloth of the king himself (Vandersleyen 1975, pl. 324).

The main difficulty with this idea is that the earliest well-dated evidence for the Nemesis griffin occurs in a private house, not in an official context or clearly associated with the ruler. While the judgement context of this example would accord well with an already existing association of the Nemesis griffin with the ruler as maintainer of the proper order of society, that earlier evidence is absent. In addition, there is the problem of funerary monument from Apollonia, if its Hellenistic date can be firmly established.

What is clear, however, is that at least in Egypt, and perhaps in Cyrenaica as well, by the last quarter of the first century A.C., the Nemesis griffin had achieved some connection with the ruler and the state. While the exact reason for the original association may never be entirely certain, what may be of more significance is that the ancient and persistent connections of the ruler with the griffin in Egypt certainly would have enhanced the ruler associations of Nemesis herself. In addition, this enhancement need not have been restricted to Egypt. The presence of griffins fighting Amazons or receiving supplications from Barbarians on architectural decoration and especially on Imperial cuirass statues, already in the Julio-Claudian period (Simon 1962, pl. XLVII.5), is evidence of an early association of griffins with the power of the Roman imperium (Simon 1962, 776-77).

Nemesis Trampling on a Prostrate Figure

Even more likely to evoke a connection with the power of the Roman emperor is an iconographic type of Nemesis which first appears in the reign of Trajan and in Egypt, that of the goddess trampling a prone figure. The type is first seen on Trajanic bronze coinage minted at Alexandria in the years 108/9, 109/10, 111/2 A.C. (Christiansen 1988, 152, 159, 176) (Plate VI). Herter (1935, 2375) has suggested that the idea of Nemesis trampling a prone figure is already evoked in Ovid's "inposito calcas quid mea fata pede?" (*Tristia* V.8.10), where the preceding passage has made the statement "exigit a dignis ultrix Rhamnusia poenas". However, a reading of the entire context of this passage renders such an interpretation ambiguous at best.

The "Rhamnusian Ultrix punishes those who deserve it" is not the one doing the trampling. The action is certainly that of Ovid's enemy since he is the only figure in the poem addressed in the second person. The trampling corresponds to the mocking of Ovid's unfortunate circumstances. The mention of Nemesis is a warning to Ovid's detractor to cease his persecution of one so fallen on hard times. The next couplet makes this clear when Ovid notes the just reward of drowning for one who laughs at a shipwreck. Ovid's enemy should not glory in the poet's misfortune lest he justly suffer a similar one.

Further, just because Rhamnusian Ultrix is mentioned in the same elegiac couplet as the trampling does not mean that trampling image must be connected with the goddess. Ovid also uses the motif of an enemy trampling upon him in another poem of the *Tristia* (III.11.25) ("quid inanem proteris umbram?") in which Nemesis does not appear.

The iconographic trampling image subsequently appears in two similar marble statuettes from Egypt, datable by hairstyle to the second half of the second century A.C. (Gercke 1983, 528-29, figs. 14-15; Baratte 1981, 171-78, figs. 1-4) (Plate VII). It is found in a fragmentary statue, dated stylistically to the time of Hadrian, uncovered in the ruins of the *sacellum* at the Tetrarchic fortress of Qasr-Qarun (ancient Dionysias) in Egypt (Schwartz 1969, 61-70) (Plate VIII). It also occurs in a terracotta statuette from the Fayum now in Hildesheim (Schweitzer 1931, fig. 11; Kayser 1973, 121, no. 434) (Plate IX), and in a relief in Cairo (Perdrizet 1912, 263, fig. 1) (Plate X). The type also appears farther afield, on reliefs from Gortyna (Plate XI), Patras (Papapostolou 1989, fig. 16), Piraeus (Plate XII), Thessaloniki (Plate XIII), and in Brindisi (Plate XIV); in a statue from Dion; and in a wall painting from Tarragona (Plate XV).[16]

The extant examples of this type of Nemesis appear in several variants. The earliest, on the Trajanic coinage from Alexandria, presents the goddess winged, trampling with her right foot on a fallen figure of undeterminable sex, and with her right leg bent at the knee as if she were alighting upon the figure. She wears a short chiton and what has been interpreted as a peplos

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[16] The relief from the amphitheater at Gortyna is now in the British Museum (Perdrizet 1898, 599-600, pl. 16; Flagge 1976, fig. 132). The Patras relief may have been from the theater or amphitheater, although found in reuse elsewhere, and it is datable late in the reign of Trajan or early in the reign of Hadrian because of the style of the cuirass worn by the goddess (Papapostolou 1989, 371-78, fig. 16). The relief from Piraeus, now in the Louvre, is datable to the second century A.C. (Perdrizet 1898, 599-601; 1912, 251, pl. 7; Gercke 1983, 528-29, fig. 12). The relief from Thessaloniki, now in Vienna, is dated to the second or third century A.C. on the basis of the letter forms of an accompanying inscription (Perdrizet 1914, 89-91, Flagge 1976, fig. 131). The statuette from Dion is in the Dion Archaeological Museum and is unpublished, but it is described as the lower portion of a draped figure with her right foot crushing a supine woman, and accompanied by a wheel to her left and scales carved on the base below (Ridgway personal communication, 1991). The relief in Brindisi is dated stylistically to the first half of the third century A.C. (Schweitzer 1931, 183-94, pl. 3). The wall painting from Tarragona occurs at the amphitheater (Galán 1986, 403-404, fig. 8). A relief from Andautonia in Croatia may depict a figure crushed under the feet of Nemesis, although the victim is rather indistinct. It is datable later than the 80s A.C., because of an earlier inscription which the relief and its own accompanying inscription have utilized (Selem 1980, 265-66.3, pl. XLII).

(Volkmann 1928, 298) (although a roll of cloth produced by a baring of the right breast is just as possible), and she moves a wheel before her. Later examples sometimes closely resemble the first, but show the goddess dressed in a cuirass.[17] Increasing variation is displayed by other examples. Sometimes the trampled figure is male, sometimes Nemesis wears a long dress, sometimes the goddess is shown doing her typical gesture, sometimes she is given varying attributes like the measuring stick or the scales, and sometimes the goddess is accompanied by a griffin, or a serpent, or even by both.[18]

It has been suggested that this iconography represents Nemesis trampling hubris personified (Papapostolou 1989, 376). This interpretation is doubtful, however, because the goddess steps upon both male and female figures, not only female figures, as would be appropriate for such a personification. Another idea has been that the figure being crushed represents an enemy of the dedicant being destroyed through a *defixio* (Delamarre 1894, 270). It should be noted, however, that when the image is accompanied by a votive inscription, it never appears in the context of *defixiones*.[19] The image has also been thought to present Nemesis conquering an adversary of a competitor in the games (Perdizet 1914, 99; Papapostolou 1989, 376), in association with which the image does occur, as we shall later discuss; but in its earliest appearances the context is not the arena and the imagery never appears with a competitor's votive inscription.

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[17] The one from Patras features the goddess in a short dress and cuirass, accompanied by a griffin and a wheel, and trampling upon a female figure. The relief in Cairo shows the goddess in a short dress and cuirass, accompanied by a wheel and scales, and standing on a female figure with a mourner beside her. The example at Tarragona depicts the goddess wearing a short dress and apparently a cuirass. García y Bellido (1963, 17) interprets the figure as dressed in a yellow blouse with ruffled sleeves and a short red skirt, but the yellow color of the "blouse" can perhaps be interpreted as an attempt to render a metal cuirass, particularly since the sleeves seem to be of the same red color as the skirt, at least in the published black and white photos. Moreover, a comparison of the image with the cuirassed Cairo and Patras ones serves to emphasize the similarity of dress, even the "ruffled" sleeve sections, which are best interpreted as the shoulder straps. In the painting, Nemesis is accompanied by a wheel, and stands upon a figure of undeterminable sex.

[18] The trampled figure is male in the two marble statuettes from Egypt, the Qasr-Qarun statue, and the reliefs from Gortyna and Thessaloniki. Nemesis wears a long dress in the statuettes in Hildesheim and Dion, and in the reliefs from Piraeus, Brindisi, and Gortyna. The goddess is shown making her typical gesture in the Brindisi relief, and the two marble statuettes from Egypt. She is given the measuring stick in the Piraeus relief and the scales in the Thessaloniki and Cairo reliefs. The goddess is accompanied by a griffin in the Patras and Thessaloniki reliefs, by a serpent in the Piraeus relief, and by both a griffin and a serpent in the Gortyna relief.

[19] For example, Perdrizet (1898, 600) points out that the Piraeus relief bears only a very general epigram, not any indication of curse, and should be seen as a generic depiction of Nemesis crushing any hybristes.

Another possibility discussed by Papapostolou (1989, 378) is that the image expresses the idea of Roman power to *debellare superbos*.[20] This is surely the best idea since the image is a striking evocation of the ancient Egyptian iconography for the victorious pharaoh, as man and as griffin (and sphinx) (Plate XVI). Schweitzer (1931, 214-46) had already sought to derive the type from such a source, an idea accepted more recently by Flagge (1976, 108). It has been argued that we need not turn to Egypt or the Orient for the source of this type. Levi (1952, 30-31) maintains that the motif, which appears for the first time during the reign of Trajan as an appropriate representation of the Roman emperor himself[21], occurs already in Classical Greek and Etruscan works. His examples (Richter 1970, fig. 645; Giglioli 1935, fig. 69), however, depict not a victorious figure effortlessly trampling the enemy underfoot, but the use of the foot in the midst of battle itself for leverage against and defeat of the foe. The spirit of the motif in depictions of Nemesis, as well as in its use with the Roman emperor, is much closer to that of pharaonic art than Levi's Classical "prototypes" (compare Plates VI-XV to Plate XVI).

While the Egyptian tradition may be the ultimate source of the type, we may find the more immediate derivation of the image in the similar portrayal of the Roman emperor and of Pax Augusti[22], with whom Nemesis already had a long-standing connection in imperial propaganda. The synchrony of the adoption of the image type for the emperor and Pax on empire-wide coinage with the appearance of the Nemesis image at Alexandria might even bespeak some direction from Rome itself to the local officials responsible for the monetary types. Indeed, the role of the emperor in the selection of, or the permission for, new types even in local coinage appears confirmed in other instances (Harl 1987, 23-24). At the very least, it suggests the not uncommon practice for local coinage to stress the close association of a locally revered deity with the emperor in the protection of the state by means of adopting the dress and/or pose of the emperor for the deity (Harl 1987, 79).

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[20] Although Papapostolou takes this idea from Simon's (1962, 777) unprovable associations of Nemesis with griffins defeating enemies on Roman imperial cuirass statues, Simon's point that the enemies of Rome are *superbi* makes clear the appropriateness of Nemesis shown crushing them.

[21] For Trajan in the pose of trampling a prostrate figure see the coins minted in Rome during the period between 104 and 111 A.C. (Mattingly 1936, 65, 173-74). The same pose is displayed by the Hadrian statue from Hierapytna, Crete (Vermeule 1959, no. 182).

[22] For the emperor, see note 22. For Pax standing upon a figure see the Trajanic coins from the Rome mint datable between 104 and 111 A.C. (Mattingly 1936, 61, 170, 189, 197, 205). The influence of the image of the emperor standing upon a fallen foe is already identified as the immediate source for the Nemesis type by Baratte (1981, 176), but it is seen as concurrently operating with the impact of the association of Nemesis and Nike/Victoria. This latter idea seems unnecessary since Nemesis in her traditional role as one who overthrows *superbi*, given the Roman view of enemies as *superbi*, can be enlisted as an ally of the emperor just as easily as when conflated with Nike.

The Nemesis image thus carries with it what must be an intimate association with the ruler not only because of the history of the image itself, perhaps really only of direct relevance in Egypt, but in a more widely accessible sense because of its clear reference to the Roman emperor, disclosed both by the official context of the earliest use of the type for Nemesis and by the synchronous use of the type in imperial propaganda and for the goddess. Such a reference is advertized even to the point of dressing Nemesis in a cuirass, typical (though not exclusive) for the emperor in Roman imperial iconography, and characteristic of the type of the emperor treading upon the fallen. The association with the emperor is further substantiated by the presence of the Qasr-Qarun example in a military shrine, a context not only emphasizing the nature of the figure crushed under the foot of the goddess as an enemy of the state, but also a place where the emperor was revered along with the standards (Watson 1969, 131).

There have been attempts to derive the trampling image from the cult statue of Nemesis in the Alexandrian Nemeseion built by Caesar (Volkmann 1928, 306). The diversity in details of the various preserved examples, however, makes a single original cultic prototype unlikely. In addition, the chronological coincidence of the appearance of this type of Nemesis with the initial occurrence of the motif of the Roman emperor standing on the enemy may bespeak instead the conceptual formation of a new Nemesis image in line with the adoption of the type of the trampling ruler itself into Roman imperial propaganda, an image designed to visibly enlist the goddess in support of the state and its leader.

Nemesis Augusta

One final piece of evidence for a connection between Nemesis and the Roman emperors may be found in the frequent application to the goddess of the adjectival epithet Augusta or the genitive Augusti (or, in one instance, the Greek "Sebasmiotatai") in the dedicatory inscriptions of the Imperial period. This epithet is the most frequent of all the appellations of Nemesis, for a total of 51 (or 46) occurrences. This number is even larger than that for Dea/Thea, which appears 45 times, and three times as large as that for the next most common epithet, Regina (Tables 3 & 4). "Augusta" begins to be used with Nemesis certainly by the middle of the second century A.C. (Appendix Two, no. 115) and continues well into the third century (Appendix Two, no. 114). It appears throughout the Western Empire from Spain to Italy to the Danube, and in one instance is found in a Greek inscription from Astorga in Spain dedicated specifically to the Nemeseis of

Smyrna (Appendix Two, no. 211). Clearly, the qualification Augusta or the specification of Nemesis as "of the Augustus" (apparently in at least one instance, Appendix Two, no. 16) must have denoted, in the minds of her worshippers, a very important aspect of her nature.

The designation Augusti or, when there are co-emperors, the plural Augustorum, clearly must refer to the emperor, conveying the meaning either "of the reigning emperor" or " of Augustus himself". Nor is the qualifying Augustus/-a in the context of divine epithets simply translatable with its original meaning of "fullness of numinous power inherent in things consecrated to the divine" (Fears 1981, 888). It must also be a reference to the emperor, conveying a meaning of "imperial", if we are adequately to explain the appearance of this adjective with deities and Imperial Virtues almost exclusively after the adoption of this name by Octavian in 27 B.C.[23] The very frequency of the word Augustus/Sebastos in the Imperial period as a term for the emperor would have also made it difficult to disassociate from the epithet the connotation "imperial".

Exactly what the epithet denotes when used with Nemesis or any other divine figure has been a subject of controversy. The meaning of the epithet does not seem to have been very different when used as an adjective or as a genitive noun. The far more common attestation of the adjectival form can perhaps be explained through the slight nuance in linkage between the imperial person and the divine, thus more in keeping with conservative tastes (Fishwick 1978, 376-77). However, the frequent use of the abbreviated forms "Aug." and "August." on coins and in inscriptions may mean that the grammatical differences were generally of little importance for the actual meaning (Fears 1981, 887). Confirmation can be found in the ease of alternation between genitive and adjectival forms of other divine epithets already in the Republican period (Fears 1981, 888).

The epithet appears regularly with important "personified" concepts, characterizing them in imperial propaganda, especially on coinage, as the Imperial Virtues par excellence—Fortuna, Pax, Pietas, Concordia, Iustitia, etc. (Fears 1981, 827-948). Similarly, it is applied to over one hundred different deities in the Roman world, from the Olympians to local divinities, like Baliddir, Caelestis, Mona, and Saturn, to mystery deities like Cybele and Isis (*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* 1393-1402). One scholar has suggested that the epithet does not qualify the deity but specifies an aspect of the imperial numen which overlaps in function or character with the particular deity named; the divine name, not the epithet itself, would therefore be the real qualifier, and the emperor, not the deity, the focus of cult (Folliot 1927, 145-46).

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[23] Only one occurrence of "Augustus" as a divine epithet predates 27 B.C., in an inscription from Gallia Cisalpina dated 58 B.C. linking it with the Lares (*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* 1393).

This idea is not generally accepted (Étienne 1958, 341). The sheer number of widely variant deities given the epithet, in many of whom one would be hard-pressed to find some aspect suitable to overlap with an imperial trait, make Folliot's interpretation unlikely. In addition, as Fears (1981, 828-33) has shown in his evaluation of "personifications" in Roman religion, even the Imperial Virtues, whose nature would fit even better the sort of hypothesis suggested by Folliot, should not be regarded as merely aspects of the emperor or his numen but as concrete powers working in the sphere of the emperor. Most scholars have suggested that the epithet is used with a deity to denote a specific link with the emperor and his house, more specifically to place the emperor or his family under the protection or aid of the particular divinity invoked, and to express the loyalty of the dedicant to the state (Étienne 1958, 345-46; Turcan 1972, 64). Others, like Nock (1947, 103) and Leglay (1966, 130-31), have argued that, because the epithet is so frequent and applied to so many deities, such an hypothesis is excessive, and that in most instances we should see no more than an expression of the exalted status of that divinity.

More recently, Fishwick (1978a, 377-78) has reasonably demonstrated that the use of Augustus or Augusti as an epithet with divine beings probably stems from the Republican tradition of placing a family under the protection of a deity by attaching the family name as an epithet to a god or goddess. He believes that the original meaning conveyed by the epithet must have been the protection of the emperor and his family by the deity. Similarly, Fears (1981, 886-87) has explained the use and meaning of Augustus/Augusti as an epithet in the cult of virtues as arising from an early Roman religious practice of using a suffix to define the sphere in which a deity is particularly manifest. He (1981, 889) accordingly surmises that it served to define the sphere of operation of the deity as being the person and activities of the emperor.

Despite establishing the epithet's early association with the emperor, Fishwick (1978a, 378; 1978b, 1251) argues, in concordance with Leglay (1966, 130-31), that in the case of Augustan deities, as opposed to the Imperial Virtues, the epithet is so frequent and is applied to so many different divinities that its original meaning may have become barely, if at all, understood, and that in most instances it simply serves to indicate the exalted status of the deity. Macmullen (1981, 103-4, note 39) is not entirely satisfied with Fishwick's idea, and suggests that the relationship of the god and the emperor is what was utmost in the dedicant's mind.

We will never know exactly what significance the epithet had in the mind of the dedicant when he chose to assign it to the deity of his devotions, or how much choice he had of which epithet to employ. However, the origins of this type of epithet, as elucidated by Fishwick and Fears, do indicate that its original implications were to associate a deity with the emperor and his house. Whereas one may generally agree with Fishwick that the adjectival form might not always provide a direct reference to the emperor, it is difficult to accept the same for the more specific and far less numerous genitive form. In addition, neither Fears nor Fishwick seem to doubt that, in the case of the Imperial Virtues, even the adjectival form of the epithet denotes an association with the emperor.

In the particular case of Nemesis the explicit use of the more specific genitive form of the epithet, Augustorum, as late as 201 (Appendix Two, no. 16) may indicate that the association with the emperor had not been completely forgotten. Also, perhaps worth remembering is the close association of Nemesis with the many deities often designated as typical Imperial Virtues, like Fortuna, Iustitia, Victoria, and Pax[24], and her explicit connection with Pax Augusta and Victoria Augusta in imperial coin propaganda, with Pax as early as the reign of Claudius, with Victoria in the reign of Hadrian. One may be further inclined on this basis to see the meaning of the Augusta epithet when used with Nemesis as comparable to that used with the great Virtues of the emperor. The popularity of the epithet for Nemesis is also completely in consonance with the other evidence for a connection between her and the emperor.

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[24] For Nemesis and Tyche/Fortuna see note 3. For Nemesis and Dike/Iustitia there is a natural proximity because of the common conception of Nemesis as punisher of those who merit it and the avenger of those unjustly wronged, cf. Plato (*Leges*, 717d.3), Mesomedes (*Hymnus in Nemesin*, lines 2 & 18), Pseudo-Callisthenes (*Historia Alexandri Magni*, II.22.15), the probably first century B.C. dedication from Miletos to Nemesis as "Paredros of Dike" (Appendix Two, no. 250), the Roman Imperial bilingual (Greek/Latin) inscription from Capua (Appendix Two, no. 145) and Greek inscription of the second or third century A.C. from Thessaloniki calling Nemesis "Dikaia" (Appendix Two, no. 110), the oracle from Hierapolis (Appendix Two, no. 244), and the frequent iconographic attribution to Nemesis of the scales in the Imperial period (for example, at Heliopolis--Wiegand 1924, 127-28; on an Egyptian relief in Cairo--Perdrizet 1912, 263, fig. 1; coins from Laodikeia in Anatolia--Posnansky 1890, 148; on a relief from Debeli Lak, Bulgaria--Mihailov 1966, no. 2140; this is a feature to which we shall later return), connected by some scholars with Dike/Iustitia or Dikaiosyne (Rossbach 1897-1902, 158, 163), by others with that embodiment of the fairness and impartiality so important in the Roman idea of justice, Aequitas (Posnansky 1890, 109, 113).

For Nemesis and Pax the connection is clear in the coinage cited above from the reigns of Claudius and Vespasian, on coins of Smyrna issued under Nero with the same image type (*BMC Ionia*, 271.287, pl. XXVIII.12), and a gem with the same type in Copenhagen (Fossing 1929, 113.669, pl. IX.669). For Nemesis and Nike/Victoria see in general the discussion by Chapouthier (1924), and, more specifically, the coin issues of Hadrian and Aemilian mentioned above, a coin issue of Stobi under Commodus associating a figure of Nike with a wheel (*BMC Macedonia*, 105.13), the aforementioned limestone mould from Egypt, now in the British Museum, datable to the second century A.C. showing a griffin with a wheel and the inscription Nemesis Nikea (Perdrizet 1914, 94-95, fig. 3; Daux 1942-43, 140-43), Mesomedes (*Hymnus in Nemesin*, line 17) and Roman Imperial period inscriptions emphasizing the victorious or unbeatable nature of Nemesis from Merida not before the reign of Marcus Aurelius (Appendix Two, no. 215), Rome in 238-244 A.C. (Appendix Two, no. 149), from Recka in Dacia from the second-third C. A.C. (Appendix Two, no. 184), and from Philippi in the second or third century A.C. (Appendix Two, nos. 84-86).

In conclusion, while Nemesis is by no means the only deity associated with the Roman emperor, and while she may not have had a relationship to the head of state which was more special than that of other deities who moved in the sphere of the emperor's person and actions, the evidence presented demonstrates that in the Roman Imperial period one aspect, although certainly not the only one, of the complex of ideas and beliefs surrounding the goddess expressed a hitherto largely unrecognized close connection with the Roman emperor.[25] The evidence suggests that there was quite possibly a conscious effort by some emperors and their officials, beginning already with Claudius and accelerating with Trajan, to assert an important association of the goddess with the ruler, his house and his virtues. The imperial coin propaganda, both on an empire-wide scale and in local mints and distribution, served to promote this connection, especially in Egypt where the tradition of ruler reverence and divine association was particularly strong. The success of this effort is clearly demonstrated by the great frequency of the epithet Augusta for the goddess and the spread of iconographic images, like perhaps the griffin and quite probably the trampling of the enemy, the artistic heritage and normal contexts of which probably conjured up an imperial connotation in the minds of the ordinary inhabitant of the Empire during the second and third centuries A.C. The awesome power of Nemesis, in the just overthrowing of those who merit destruction, i.e. the enemies of the state, thereby bringing victory and peace to the Empire, was, like the powers of so many other divine figures, successfully enlisted in the cause of the Roman state and its leader.

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[25] Volkmann (1934, 60) is one of the few to argue for such a connection, at least in the instance of the dedication from the theater at Stobi (Appendix Two, no. 161). He stresses that the use of the name "Ultrix" instead of Nemesis, especially by Augustales, must bespeak a conscious association with the imperial house via Mars Ultor whose importance for the emperor dates back to Augustus. This inscription in itself may constitute further support for the association presented here. However, while it is conceivable that Mars Ultor could have been in mind, Ultrix is appropriate as a name for Nemesis, given her own role as avenger, quite independently of any connection with Mars or the emperor. Note, for example, that Ovid (*Tristia* V.8.9) uses "Ultrix" as well.

NEMESIS AND THE CITY

Apart from the frequency of public officials and military personnel among the worshippers of Nemesis and the various examples of a connection between the emperor and the goddess, there is another aspect of the importance of Nemesis for the Roman state—her role as protector of the city. While such a role is not widely attested, several examples exist. At Carnuntum, three inscriptions from the second or third century A.C. were found at the south entrance to the civilian amphitheater, where apparently stood a temple to Nemesis (Appendix Two, nos. 18-20). One is to Nemesis, another is to the Fortuna of Carnuntum, and the third is composed only of the abbreviations N. F. K. but is plausibly read as a dedication to Nemesis conflated with the Fortuna of the municipality of Carnuntum. Perhaps related is the statue of Nemesis from the theater at Ephesos (Plate XVII). This image is an attempt to conflate Nemesis with Tyche because it exhibits not only the griffin and measuring stick of the former but the cornucopia and probably the rudder resting upon a globe of the latter. What is significant is that the goddess wears a *polos* or *kalathos* apparently of the mural type, probably denoting her as the Tyche of the city.[26]

Even more explicit is the bronze municipal coinage issued by the Roman colony at Cremna in Anatolia under Geta, on the reverse of which an image of Nemesis making her typical gesture, holding a measuring stick, and accompanied by a griffin, appears with the inscription "Ultri Col Cr" (Posnansky 1890, 151; *SNG Copenhagen* VI. Pisdia, 139). Similar is the reverse of the bronze city coinage from Tium issued under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius featuring Nemesis accompanied by the Greek inscription "Nemesis Tionōn" (Posnansky 1890, 143; *BMC Pontus*, 205.10).

There is also a dedication from Komine (Appendix Two, no. 282) to Nemesis and the Genius Municipi. Perhaps similar is the fragmentary inscription from the Nemesis shrine at the civilian amphitheater of Aquincum (Appendix Two, no. 117), although the genius is here called

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[26] Picard (1947, 264) notes the mural character of what he calls a "calathos" (called a "polos" in the original publication--Heberdey 1898, 78), but is hesitant to see a city goddess because of the rudder steering a globe, indicating the more universal sway of the goddess, and because the city Tyche often carries an attribute distinctive of her city. However, there are figures of a city Tyche on local coinage issues which lack any attributes peculiar to the city but are depicted simply with a standard mural crown, rudder, and lance or mural crown, cornucopia and patera (Ziegler 1948,1686-87). In addition, the global power of Tyche need not have been annihilated by emphasizing a more local manifestation of it. Further, it is by no means clear that the globe is always meant to represent a cosmic dominance when used with Tyche/Fortuna. After all, Dio Chrysostom (*Orationes* 63, line 7) states that it represents the constant changeability of fortune.

"Genius Loci", thereby making it uncertain whether it refers to the city genius or to that of the amphitheater itself. Also possibly related is the aforementioned painting from the amphitheater at Tarragona in which Nemesis is accompanied by a genius figure. It is not clear, however, if this being is the genius of the city since he lacks the mural crown common in genii of cities.[27]

It thus appears that Nemesis was sometimes seen as a special protector, likely with the connotation of avenger or requiter of wrongs done to the city. Perhaps this role stems from the conflation between Nemesis and Tyche/Fortuna as city goddess (Egger 1926, 127). It seems clear that Nemesis had some role in the Roman period as a guardian of municipal bodies as well as individuals. Such a function would be completely in consonance with the aspect of Nemesis as aiding the Roman ruler already discussed.

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[27] The genius of a city usually wears a mural crown (Alcock 1986, 118, 123, fig. 2) but since even a genius of a military body like a century can be so depicted (Alcock 1986, 120, 121, fig. 1), one must wonder how careful an artist was to clearly distinguish a city genius and other genii. If a genius of a group could have a mural crown, perhaps a genius of a city could lack one. Consequently, it is possible that the genius at Tarragona could be the city genius even if he is missing the turreted crown.

CHAPTER THREE

NEMESIS AND THE GAMES

The most distinctive feature of the cult of Nemesis during the Roman Imperial period is undoubtedly the devotion paid to her at theaters, amphitheaters, and stadia. There exist excavated Nemesis shrines at theaters and amphitheaters distributed from Britain to Anatolia, and literary testimonies to additional Nemesis *sacella* in other similar contexts. There are also numerous examples of Nemesis images in the round, relief, and painting from such places, some inscribed and some not. Finally, there are as many as 90 inscriptions (or at least 59) which by context, iconography or dedicant's profession testify to the link between Nemesis and the games.[1]

An analysis of this aspect of the worship of Nemesis was undertaken already quite early in the study of the goddess, in an influential article by Von Premerstein (1894, 400-415), *Nemesis und ihre Bedeutung für die Agone*. So seminal has this essay been that aside from the cataloging of additional evidence and the brief discussion of the phenomenon in Volkmann (1928, 312-21; 1934, 73-74), the short treatment of the issue in an encyclopedia entry (Herter 1935, 2372-73), and the more recent articles by Foucher (1974, 187-94) and Canto (1984, 189-93), little further elucidation has been attempted concerning the related, but not necessarily identical, questions of why was the goddess associated with such contexts and why did people worship her there.

Before approaching these issues we must clearly outline the nature of the evidence. In order for our analysis to rest upon the most accurate representation of the evidence we must examine several aspects of it. These are the chronology of the association, the sort of games with which the goddess was connected, the character of the cult remains (temples, reliefs, statues), the epithets and iconography of Nemesis, the nature of the worshippers, and the character of their worship.

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[1] See Tables 1 & 2. For the difference between the maximal and minimal numbers, see the Introduction. It can be further pointed out that in addition to the criteria set forth in the Introduction, also included within the maximal number of dedications with games associations but not the minimal one are offerings to Nemesis discovered out of original context but very close to an amphitheater or theater, as well as inscriptions which were also found in secondary usage outside of a games context with a known Nemesis temple, but which refer to a temple of the goddess. Both of these types of dedications were probably associated with the cult of Nemesis at the games sites, but are the connection is not entirely certain.

In the ancient literary sources generally little is said about the connection between Nemesis and the games. There are only an enigmatic passage in the *Historia Augusta* (Maximus and Balbinus 8.6.2-7.1) to which we shall return later; Pausanias' statement (*Graeciae descriptio* 7.20.9.8-9) that near the theater at Patras was a temple of Nemesis and another of Aphrodite; and the mention by John Malalas (*Chronographica* 12.307) of a temple of Nemesis built by Diocletian at one end of the stadium he constructed at Daphne near Antioch. There are no remains yet discovered of either Pausanias' or Malalas' Nemesis temples. Recently, however, a relief featuring Nemesis crushing underfoot a female figure was discovered at Patras, built into a later wall some 100 meters west of the remains of a structure considered an amphitheater. This find has led one scholar to assert that Pausanias' temple of Nemesis, suggested to have been an independent exterior annex to the amphitheater, may have been located there (Papapostolou 1989, 367-71). One might point out that the wording of Pausanias' passage itself does not permit an explicit association of Nemesis with the theater, but may indicate no more than the geographical proximity of the temples of Nemesis and Aphrodite. However, the particular type of the Nemesis image uncovered at Patras is one which, as we shall see, is known in two certain games contexts.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE ASSOCIATION

The earliest firm evidence for an association between Nemesis and competitive activities or places in which they were held cannot be dated before the Roman Imperial period. Von Premerstein (1895, 404, 407), Volkmann (1934, 73), Schweitzer (1931, 212), Herter (1935, 2373) have all held that Nemesis was already connected with agonistic events during the Hellenistic period. The evidence they present is, however, extremely tenuous.

A passage in the sixth century A.C. writer John Laurentius Lydus (*De Mensibus* 1.12), which states that the obelisk ("pyramis") of Helios on the Spina in the circus was considered by competitors as belonging to Nemesis, was taken by Von Premerstein (1894, 404) as proof of a Hellenistic origin for the connection between Nemesis and agonistic events. His reasoning, however, seems a bit convoluted. He argues that another sixth century writer Cassiodorus (*Varia* 3.51) discusses the circus in virtually the same terms in Latin as Lydus does in Greek and therefore both writers are drawing upon some earlier source. This in itself is a logical assumption, but why that source would be Hellenistic is not even clear in Von Premerstein's argument, since he (1894, 403) appears to accept the position adopted by Reifferscheid that the source is a lost work by Suetonius, the *Ludicra Historia.* At any rate, whatever the common source of the information in Lydus and Cassiodorus, one need not assign the Nemesis mention to it, as the reference only appears in Lydus. It is far more likely that Lydus may be drawing this material from a source dating well into the Roman era, no doubt after the association of Nemesis with the griffin which predates any connection of the goddess with the Sun and may actually have led to such a link, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Two inscriptions from Miletos have also been presented as support for a Hellenistic origin (Volkmann 1934, 73). The first (Appendix Two, no. 249) is on a marble block from an undetermined building. It is dated to the first half of the third century B.C. because of letter forms and the dedicant's prosopography (Von Gerkan & Krischen 1928, 179-81, no. 364). The dedicant was apparently a gymnasiarch. However, the reading of the name "Nemesis" in the inscription is dubious. The inscription is quite damaged, the name of the goddess cannot be clearly seen in the published photograph (Von Gerkan & Krischen 1928, fig. 139), and is completely absent in the present state of the inscription which is now in the courtyard of the Archaeological Museum at Miletos.

The second Miletus dedication (Appendix Two, no. 250) is found on the left fragment of a marble base; the letter forms led the excavators to date it to the second or first century B.C. (Von Gerkan & Krischen 1928, 181, no. 365). While the actual name of the goddess is missing, it is plausibly reconstructed on the basis of the preceding phrase "Dikes paredros", the exact epithet given to Nemesis in the hymn of Mesomedes (line 18) in the second century A.C. The dedicant's name is missing but his profession appears to be that of referee in athletic events, because he seems to be concerned with deciding victory fairly. However, this inscription need not be an example of a certain connection of Nemesis with the agon because a dedication by a person having juridicial capacity can be appropriate for Nemesis as paredros of Dike quite independently of the fact that the dedicant is a judge specifically in competitions.

Another supposed Hellenistic example of the connection is a broken marble relief from the theater at Thasos, now in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul; it depicts Nemesis wearing a long dress and a mantle, doing her typical gesture with her right hand, and holding a measuring stick in her left (Plate XVIII). The relief was dated stylistically to the Hellenistic period by Mendel (1914, 77-78, no. 863) and Schweitzer (1931, 212), but more recently was judged as belonging to the second or third century A.C. (Bernard & Salviat 1962, 603).

Finally, Greek athletic and dramatic events are associated with the cults of Nemesis and Themis at Rhamnous in a fourth century B.C. inscription (Appendix Two, no. 95). In addition, three inscriptions from the Roman Imperial period (Appendix Two, nos. 270, 271, 278) make it clear that similar contests were held in honor of the Nemeseis at Smyrna. However, holding a festival in honor of Nemesis which included athletic or dramatic competitions does not correspond to the type of direct connection between the goddess and games per se which is evident in the other data under discussion here. Such festival events instead fit well with the widespread Greek custom to honor a deity with games. This practice is not the same as linking a deity specifically with competition itself. Numerous divinities had games as part of their festivals (for instance, Athena and the Panathenaic Festival), yet were never associated directly with agonistic events in general, nor were games peculiarly appropriate to their divine characters. We thus need not assume that games offered in the Nemeseia at Rhamnous and Smyrna bear any relationship to the worship of Nemesis in agonistic contexts.

The earliest clear evidence is found in two inscriptions dating to the first century A.C. One is a fragment of a marble column drum, the original diameter of which was 44 cm., found in the theater at Salamis and thought to have served as a base for a dedicated object (Mitford & Nicolaou 1974, 142, no. 104). Its broken inscription includes the dative ending "-esei" which is interpreted as "Nemesei", and the nomen Sulpicius (Appendix Two, no. 46), undoubtedly to be connected with the person or family of Servius Sulpicius Pancles Veranianus, a man who was high priest of the cult of the emperors apparently during the reign of Domitian and who, in another inscription, claims to have built a theater, amphitheater, and a building for statues of the emperor and the gods (Mitford & Nicolaou 1974, 131-39, 142).

The second is an inscription from the western entrance of the stadium at Ephesos mentioning the activities of freedman G. Stertinius Orpex and his daughter, including a dedication connected with a Neikonemeseion (Appendix Two, no. 240). The text is dated by the career of Orpex, which permits the reconstruction of the name of the emperor Nero on the first preserved line (Heberdey 1912, 181). Where the Neikonemeseion was located is unclear. Heberdey (1912, 181) suggested tentatively that it should be identified with the ruins of a round building located on the hill directly opposite the west entrance of the stadium. Alzinger (1970, 1638) would rather place the shrine somewhere within the stadium itself.

Possibly belonging to the first century is a votive inscription to Sancta Nemesis dedicated at the amphitheater of Venafrum by Quintus Pontius Euschemus (Appendix Two, no. 154). Since the dedicant also erected an identical votive altar at Herculaneum (Appendix Two, no. 146), one might think that Euschemus must have lived sometime around 79 A.C. However, the *CIL* considers the Herculaneum inscription to post-date the Vesuvius destruction, presumably on the basis of letter form since original ancient context of the dedication is not known. Because of the difficulties of letter form chronology the date of the Venafrum inscription therefore remains uncertain, but for the same reason, given the dedicant's activity at Herculaneum, one also cannot entirely rule out the first century.

Another possible example from the first century is a fragmentary inscribed architrave from Mylasa (Appendix Two, no. 252), dated on letter form (Hicks 1889, 137, nos. 8-9). The text is a dedication by a priestess of Nemesis, Artemisia, acting on the authority of Menippos, the priest of Peitho, of a monument (presumably that on which the inscription was placed) and a statue to Nemesis and the Demos. The excavators believed that the dedication had come originally from a temple of Nemesis (Hauvette-Besnault & Dubois 1881, 39).

The building in which the inscription was found is on the opposite side of Topbasi Hill from the theater and had apparently been associated in some way with a club of dramatic performers, because in one corridor there was an inscription mentioning *sunagonistai* (Hauvette-Besnault & Dubois 1881, 34-35). Von Premerstein (1895, 406) and Perdrizet (1914, 98-99) pointed out that no temple of Nemesis had been found at Mylasa.[2] Because Nemesis is so frequently associated with the theater or amphitheater and because the place of discovery appears to have been connected with the theater, they were inclined to see the Nemesis dedication as originally from a chapel in the theater. This point of view was accepted by both Volkmann (1928, 313) and Herter (1935, 2373). Since, however, the Nemesis inscription, along with several other architectural fragments from small monuments discovered in the same location, probably did not belong originally to the building in which it was found (Hauvette-Besnault & Dubois 1881, 38), one can legitimately argue that the dedication might have nothing to do with the "sunagonistai" inscription or any function of the building in which it was uncovered.

Although the earliest extant documents connecting Nemesis with competitions come from the Greek East, the origins of the association need not be sought in the Hellenistic world. Each of these inscriptions falls well within the period of Roman rule over the Greek world, and come from a time when Roman games like the *munus* and *venatio* had already been introduced there. Evidence of such games can be found in Greece and Asia Minor already during the reigns of Augustus and other Julio-Claudian emperors (Robert 1940, 265). At Salamis the fact that Pancles had also built an amphitheater demonstrates that Roman games were being celebrated. At Ephesos the stadium was probably used for Roman-style games by the second century A.C. (Robert 1940, 196-97, nos. 201, 205, 206); and since they were known elsewhere in the same region already in the Julio-Claudian period, such games are certainly plausible there in the first century as well. If the Nemesis inscription at Mylasa was originally associated with a shrine in the theater, it can be pointed out that gladiatorial games were already celebrated at the site as early as the first century A.C. (Robert 1940, 179, no. 175, 265).

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[2] More recently, a temple of Nemesis is mentioned at Mylasa in the *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (1976, 602). That this temple is the one assumed by the early excavators is clear from Bean (1971, 42) who states that excavations on the western side of Topbasi Hill (those of the French in the late nineteenth century) have shown that there must have been a shrine of Nemesis nearby. The evidence for the temple is restricted to the architrave which we have discussed. Where it was located and if it actually had a relationship with the theater remain uncertain.

The majority of the evidence for the association of Nemesis with competitions can be dated, when firm dates are possible, to the second and third centuries A.C. The evidence shall be presented following a rough geographical order from West to East. In Britain, the phenomenon is attested by the early second century A.C. at Chester (Appendix Two, no. 29), and no earlier than 74-75 A.C. at Caerleon (Appendix Two, no. 28). In Spain, the association appears at Italica not before the reign of Hadrian (Appendix Two, nos. 216-225), at Tarragona in the early third century A.C. (Appendix Two, nos. 226-227), and at Merida not before the reign of the emperor Marcus Aurelius (Appendix Two, no. 215).

In Italy, aside from the already mentioned altar from Venafrum, there is a funerary inscription from Verona probably later than the reign of Marcus Aurelius (Appendix Two, no. 155). In Cisalpine Gaul, the association appears at Pola after the late first century A.C. (Appendix Two, nos. 41, 44). In Gallia Narbonensis, at Vintium, the relationship between Nemesis and the arena is probably no earlier than the reign of Hadrian (Appendix Two, no. 63). In Africa the phenomenon is attested at Lepcis Magna by the late second or early third centuries A.C. (Di Vita-Evrard, Private Communication 1990), and at Sabratha by the end of the second or the early third century A.C.[3]

At the capital of Dalmatia, Salona, the date must be later than the second century A.C. (Appendix Two, no. 45). In Macedonia, the phenomenon is not present at Philippi before the late second or early third centuries A.C.

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[3] The date is so assigned because a sacrifice of Septimius Severus and his family to the Tyche of Sabratha is the central scene in the pulpitum relief program which includes a Nemesis relief (Caputo 1959, 19-20, 29-30).

(Appendix Two, nos. 84-86), and at Stobi only in the late third century A.C. (Appendix Two, nos. 161-162). In Pannonia, the phenomenon is attested at Aquincum, in the civilian amphitheater by 162 A.C. and as late as 259 A.C. (Appendix Two, nos. 115, 114), and in the military amphitheater no earlier than the reign of Marcus Aurelius (Appendix Two, no. 127). At Carnuntum it is found at the legionary amphitheater in the 180s and 190s A.C. (Appendix Two, nos. 4, 8, 9), and at the civilian amphitheater no earlier than the middle of the second century A.C. (Appendix Two, nos. 18-20). At Savaria it can be dated sometime between Trajan and Septimius Severus (Appendix Two, no. 132). At Scarbantia it may date from at least the time Septimius Severus (Volkmann 1928, 314, no. 44).

In Noricum, at Flavia Solva, reverence for Nemesis at the amphitheater can be assigned to the third century A.C. (Appendix Two, nos. 21-22), while at Teurnia no precise date is possible (Appendix Two, no. 24). In Dacia, at Sarmizegetusa, the worship of Nemesis can date no earlier than Trajan's conquest of Dacia in the early second century A.C. In the Roman client Kingdom of the Bosporus, the theater at Chersonesos has yielded a votive altar to Nemesis in a stratum datable to the fourth century A.C. although the altar itself must be earlier (Appendix Two, no. 280).

In Greece, the connection between Nemesis and the games may date to the second century A.C. at Olympia[4], apparently from the second or third century A.C. at Thasos (Appendix Two, nos. 105, 107), and not earlier than the early second century A.C. at Gortyna.[5] In Anatolia, at Aphrodisias, the association is attested no earlier than the reign of Commodus (Appendix Two, no. 235), at Ephesos certainly during the reign of Gordian III (Appendix Two, no. 239) and perhaps already in the late second or early third century A.C.[6], at Hierapolis the connection is found in the reign of Septimius Severus, perhaps 206/7 or 207/8 (D'Andria & Ritti 1985, xxvi-xxvii), at Side it cannot be earlier than the second century A.C. (Appendix Two, no. 260), at Perge the phenomenon is attested apparently in the Severan period[7], and at Stratonikeia/Panamara the connection between Nemesis and the games may date back to the very end of the first century

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[4] The date is so assigned by stylistic interpretation of the two under-lifesize broken statues of Nemesis flanking the entrance to the stadion (Treu 1897, 238).

[5] The date is so assigned because the amphitheater at Gortyna, from which the relief came, was constructed in the early second century A.C. (*Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* 1976, 363).

[6] A statue of Nemesis from the theater has been stylistically assigned to the late second or early third century A.C. (Schweitzer 1931, 208).

[7] The date is so assigned by the stylistic interpretation of a marble statue of Nemesis discovered in the theater (Inan private communication, 12/89).

A.C. (Appendix Two, no. 254). At Miletos (Appendix Two, no. 251), Halikarnassos (Appendix Two, nos. 241-242), Ilion (Appendix Two, no. 277), and perhaps at ancient Prusa (Appendix Two, no. 257) the date is uncertain but perhaps the second or third century A.C., like most epigraphic evidence from Roman Anatolia (Robert 1940, 265)

TYPES OF GAMES

Several scholars have assumed that the association of Nemesis with the games involves all sorts of competitive events, and that the goddess acts as a patroness of the agon in general (Von Premerstein 1894, 400-15; Volkmann 1928, 312-21, esp. 320-21; Volkmann 1934, 73; Herter 1935, 2372-73; Ville 1960, 288). This is an idea often used also to justify the assumption that the connection dates back to the Hellenistic era.

A great deal of evidence has been adduced to support such an assertion. However, as we shall see, only a very small percentage of it can survive detailed scrutiny. First, it should be pointed out that in the West the connection is always with amphitheaters, not theaters or circuses. When competitors are associated with Nemesis in this part of the Empire they are gladiators (Appendix Two, no. 155), *venatores* (Appendix Two, no. 24), or *iuvenes* (Appendix Two, no. 63), who were young men often engaging in amateur hunts or mock fights as part of amphitheatrical programs (Von Premerstein 1894, 414; Pleket 1969, 282-84; Ville 1981, 216-20). Second, in the East, as already shown, the supposed Hellenistic evidence for the connection is quite problematic, since the association of Nemesis with the games is attested only after the beginning of Roman games there.

Third, there are no dedications to Nemesis which can be firmly connected with a traditional Greek agon. In the Greek world, dedications to Nemesis by competitors are always by likely *venatores* or *iuvenes* (Appendix Two, nos. 84-86) or gladiators (Appendix Two, nos. 235, 241-242). An inscription from Ikonion, interpreted as a dedication of a *meimos* by Von Premerstein (1894, 406) and Volkmann (1928, 313, no. 37), is in fact that of one Quintus Eburenus Maximus, as Volkmann (1934, 73) himself later admits. The dedication by Tiberius Claudius Laenas from Panamara (Appendix Two, no. 254) has been used as evidence for a link to the Greek gymnasion since the dedicant's many offices include that of gymnasiarch (Volkmann 1934, 73). However, as mentioned above, Robert (1940, 64, note 3) has pointed out that it is probably as high priest of the imperial cult and, in that capacity, as offerer of the *munus* that he made the dedication, not as gymnasiarch.

Non-votive evidence for the association of Nemesis with contestants in Greek competitions is similarly tenuous. Volkmann (1928, 317) believes that the connection is manifest in the technical term used for the assignment of actors to a particular agon after a test of their abilities, the *nemēsis* or allotment (Hesychius, *Lexicon* "nemēsis hupokritōn"). This is not Nemesis, however, and although the words are etymologically linked, a fact recognized already in antiquity and used to explain the name of the goddess (Pseudo-Aristotle, *De Mundo* 7.401b.12; Cornutus, *De Natura Deorum* 13.17), the term as used here need not have a special link with the goddess any more than in any other instance in which the noun is used or for that matter the verb *nemō* itself and its other derivatives. There seems to be no reason to interpret the term as being linked to Nemesis in this instance except for the assumption that it should have such a meaning in an agonistic context. We thereby enter a circular argument in which we try to prove a role of Nemesis in dramatic competitions by assuming that a word linguistically related to her name must evoke the deity because it is used in that agon.

A hematite in the Hoffmann Collection in Paris, of unknown provenience, bears an engraved inscription (Appendix Two, no. 62) which supposedly relates Nemesis to the theater (Volkmann 1928, 318-19). In the inscription the One God admonishes that one should pay attention to one's' training, noting that the person "who walked upon the stage with a good soul" had Nemesis and the Graces on his side, while the untrained who exhibited an "overwrought soul" was punished by the gods and the Graces.

The reference to the stage might link theatrical performance to Nemesis but, as Volkmann (1928, 318-19) discusses, it also may be a metaphor for life as a stage. Certainly the moral tone of the instructions, with its concern for proper training in one's soul so that one does not become haughty, could benefit one's entire life, but it can be equally applicable to competition, where the danger of overconfidence is ever present. Similarly, the Charites are appropriate in an actual dramatic setting but would be equally at home in life as a stage since they are connected, just like Nemesis, with punishment for the unlawful (Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica* 143). Volkmann ultimately rejects the notion that the reference is metaphorical because the other ancient instances of such usage explicitly state that it is the "stage of life", and because on the gem the stage is called the *skēnē thumelēs* ("stage of the orchestra"). These points would lead me to accept Volkmann's interpretation, but one wonders whether, because the text is an oracular utterance, less specificity was desirable, or whether perhaps "biou" would have disturbed the versification of the text, and if the expression "skēnē thumelēs" is to be taken literally, as indicating an actual theater, and not simply as a somewhat formal way of denoting any stage, even a metaphorical one.

Further, even if the actual stage of a theater is meant, in the Roman era the person who walks upon that stage might not necessarily be an actor rather than a gladiator. While the orchestra serving as *konistra* is perhaps the most likely place for gladiators in a theater, there is no evidence that they did not also fight on the stage platform itself. The meaning of the inscription consequently remains more ambiguous than we would like in order to make a clear association of Nemesis with dramatic competitions.

Somewhat stronger may be the case made for the statue of Nemesis uncovered in the southern end of the east stoa of the palaestra in the gymnasion at Salamis and dated to perhaps the second century A.C. (Karageorghis 1964, 12-14, pl. XII). Her place at a gymnasion might be explained because she was considered appropriate for the athletic activities which occurred there. On the other hand, this instance is unique, and perhaps her statue was placed there for some other reason, like the desire of some individual to show his thanks in a public place for any benefit, agonistic or not. Indeed, not all of the statues discovered in this gymnasion seem to be specifically meant for that context, such as Isis, Demeter or the Satyr-Hermaphrodite group (Karageorghis 1964, 12-14).

The existing evidence for the worship of Nemesis in buildings used for traditional Greek competitions cannot be taken as evidence for a connection of the goddess with the Greek agon. The theaters in which such dedications occur can all be shown to have featured gladiatorial or hunting events. In a period contemporary with the worship of Nemesis, the theaters at Thasos (Bernard & Salviat 1962, 603), Philippi (Collart 1928, 121, 124), Side (Bean 1968, 93), Perge (Akurgal 1978, 330), Ilion (Collart 1928, 117), Stobi (Wiseman 1973, 72), and Sabratha (Caputo 1959, 14-15) all exhibit structural modifications, such as the addition of barriers to separate the orchestra from the audience, which are associated with the violent Roman games, particularly the *venationes*. In addition, inscriptions and/or reliefs associated with gladiatorial games have been found at many of these sites (Thasos: Robert 1940, 107-114, nos. 48-55; Philippi: Robert 1940, 86-90, nos. 22-25; Side: Robert 1940, 144, nos. 101-102; Ilion: Robert 1940, 225-226, nos. 286-87; Stobi: Robert 1940, 85, no. 21).

In the case of the other theaters, the Roman games are also probably contemporary with Nemesis worship. At Hierapolis, the theater was used for Roman games (D'Andria & Ritti 1985, 169), and a capital featuring reliefs of *bestiarii* battling animals was uncovered there (Robert 1940, 152-53, no. 121). At Athens, while there is no archaeological evidence for gladiatorial games, the literary sources not only attest their presence (Lucian, *Demonax* 57) but even locate the spectacles in the Theater of Dionysos in the late first century A.C. (Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes* 31.121). At Salamis it is clear from other inscriptions contemporary with the worship of Nemesis at the theater that there was also an amphitheater in the city (Mittford & Nicolaou 1974, 131, no. 101), clear evidence of Roman games. It is also known that the theater itself received structural arrangements for Roman games probably in the third century A.C. (Mittford & Nicolaou 1974, 115). One might contend that both the early presence of an amphitheater and the late date of the arrangements in the theater as compared with the time of Nemesis worship there form evidence against associating Nemesis with Roman games at Salamis. However, at Corinth, amphitheater, theater and odeon were all used for Roman games (Collart 1928, 121); and at Thasos, the barrier was built in the second or third century A.C. (Bernard & Salviat 1962, 603), but gladiatorial events are attested as early as the first century A.C. (Robert 1940, 265). Such cases should suffice to make our caution unnecessary. In addition, the barriers are only indicative of *venationes*, not of gladiatorial games (Robert 1940, 34).

At Ephesos, where there was no amphitheater, the numerous reliefs and inscriptions associated with gladiatorial games (Robert 1940, 195-201, nos. 198-221) testify to their popularity. That some were held in the great theater appears confirmed by the presence of gladiatorial monuments lining the street which leads up to that building (Robert 1940, 197, no. 206, 199, no. 214; Alzinger 1970, 1639). At Patras recently discovered monuments indicate the presence of gladiatorial competitions, probably held at a partially excavated amphitheater which the excavator associates with Pausanias' "theater" and from which likely came the Nemesis relief (Papapostolou 1989, 351-401). At Mylasa, if indeed the Nemesis inscription came from the theater, there were apparently Roman games in the city already in the first century A.C. (Robert 1940, 179, no. 175).

In the case of two of the stadia we also need not look beyond Roman games. The stadium at Ephesos appears to have been used for gladiatorial games (Alzinger 1970, 1639). Even if the earliest firmly datable evidence for them is from the second century A.C., the presence of such games in nearby cities like Magnesia and Aphrodisias already in the first century (Robert 1940, 168, no. 152; 170, no. 157) means that the Neikonemeseion may have been associated with gladiatorial events.

The stadium at Daphne in which Diocletian built temples of Nemesis and Zeus Olympios (John Malalas, *Chronographica* 12.307) was connected with the games of the Olympic festival, games instituted in the first century A.C. and celebrated according to the customs of earlier games at Antioch that had included gladiatorial events (John Malalas, *Chronographica* 10.248-249), and which still included them as late as the fourth century A.C., when they were interdicted and a *venatio* was celebrated (Petit 1955, 125). The Roman games, although associated with the festival, appear to have been held at the closure of the traditional games and ceremonies honoring

Olympian Zeus (Petit 1955, 129). The placement of temples to Zeus and Nemesis in the stadium would therefore perhaps be suited to each particular set of games, the Greek and the Roman.

It is not clear whether the *munus* and the *venatio* in the Olympic games at Antioch were actually held in the stadium at Daphne. Because Libanius (*Antiochikos* XI, 219) places hunts at a "theater" in the upper city at Antioch and because Daphne lacks an amphitheater, Petit (1955, 124) believes that the *venatio*, at least, was conducted not at Daphne but in the amphitheater in Antioch. However, Libanius is not specifically referring to the *venatio* of the Olympic festival, and there is no reason why the stadium at Daphne could not have served as an arena for Roman games like its counterparts mentioned above. Even if the Roman games were not held at the stadium itself, they were the final act in a festival whose focal point was Daphne, where the victors were crowned (John Malalas, *Chronographica* 12.307). Consequently, the temple of Nemesis could have been erected in the stadium with those events particularly in mind.

The single exception may be the stadium at Olympia where there is no evidence for Roman events. It should be kept in mind, however, that there is no evidence for the actual worship of Nemesis as there is at the other stadia and most of the other theaters and amphitheaters. Moreover, the Roman date of the Nemesis statues may indicate merely a secondary extension of the role of the goddess from its usual restriction.

From Miletos comes a fragment of a marble inscription containing the question of a performer involved in some type of acrobatic event and in bull training to Apollo of Didyma and the oracular response of the god (Appendix Two, no. 248). Apollo specifically instructs the petitioner to worship Serapis and Nemesis "who supervises the stadia of athletes". The inscription is dated to the reign of Hadrian by letter forms (Knackfuss 1924, 302, no. 205a). However, that Nemesis oversees "the stadia of athletes" need not be accepted as indicating a broader association of the goddess with the agon. One need only remember that stadia were in fact used for specifically Roman games. In addition, the man who petitioned the god performed in an event that involved controlling a wild animal, a function not known before the Roman era. While not identical to the hunting and killing of wild beasts, it is in accord with the spirit of the *venatio*, serving perhaps a role akin to a similarly less bloody but equally masterful *taurokathapsia*, in which the bull was tired out by horsemen, then wrestled to the ground (Robert 1940, 318-19).

Support for a connection of the goddess with the Greek agon in the literary evidence is also ambiguous. Plutarch (*Philopoimen* 18.1) says of Philopoimen that "some nemesis threw him down, just like a successfully running athlete, towards the end of his life". This passage need not link

Nemesis to running competitions. First, the goddess is not found here, just a more abstract, "some nemesis". Second, even if we postulate that the goddess is meant, the role of Nemesis may be confined only to Philopoimen's downfall, not to that of the athlete. The comparison with the athlete need not illustrate some customary activity of Nemesis in the agon, but merely that when Nemesis threw Philopoimen down towards the end of so successful a life, the fall was just like that a successfully running athlete near the end of a race.

So specific is the association with the *munus*, *venatio* and related events, that even another popular Roman competition, chariot racing, yields virtually no firm evidence for a link with Nemesis. The passage in Lydus (*De Mensibus* 1.12), already discussed (supra, pp. 44-45), is rather ambiguous. It says that the competitors in the circus consider the obelisk on the spina to be appropriate for its context because it is associated with Nemesis. The implication, of course, is that Nemesis is present in the circus and presides over the games there so that something connected with her would also be suitable there. Since the association of Nemesis with the circus is unique to this passage, however, one is tempted to see her presence there as the result of the increasing use of the Circus Maximus for *munera* and *venationes* in the century previous to Lydus (Humphrey 1986, 131). Perhaps she was established there and the obelisk thought to belong to her not only because of her association with Helios, but also because the goddess was thought to look down upon the events of those particular games in order, as I will argue below, to see to it that those who opposed the established order of the state were punished. The presence of the goddess, symbolized by the pyramis, might have then remained appropriate even when the *munus* and *venatio* were not given because by the Byzantine era the races themselves had become symbolic of the victory of the emperor (i.e. the state) (Dunbabin 1982, 85 and n. 131)

We have no evidence for the presence of Nemesis in any of the excavated Roman circuses.[8] Particularly significant is the absence of Nemesis worship in the circuses at Lepcis Magna, Cherchel, Merida, and Tarragona, all places where the goddess was revered at the amphitheater. The only other possible link is the suggestion by Canto (cited in Humphrey 1986, 669-70, note 51) that a reclining figure appearing in a box over the starting gate in a circus mosaic at Italica represents Nemesis reclining upon a wheel. Such an idea seems unlikely. As Humphrey (1986, 669-70, note 51) has pointed out, the wheel is quite difficult to discern, and the only figure in other circus mosaics who appears similarly reclining is the magistrate ready to drop the *mappa*, starting the race. Further, I have found no parallel for a reclining Nemesis, and a reclining figure with a wheel would be better suited for a road personification, like the Via Traiana on a coinage issue of Trajan (Foss 1990, 103, no. 54, fig. 54). Finally, a Byzantine epigram (*Anthologia Graeca* XVI.354) states that while his city wished to honor a charioteer with a gold statue, such an offering might seem too great and could draw Nemesis. However, in this passage it is not the race or competitive aspects which have any particular connection with Nemesis, but the fear of her wrath for overdoing an honor, a fear of the hubris which could be implicit in any glorification of a mortal and which is quite independent of the agon.

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[8] See Humphrey (1986) for a comprehensive discussion of the excavated circuses in various parts of the Empire. It is quite interesting to note that among the deities prominent in the literary sources regarding the circus and in its artwork were Consus, Sol, Hercules, Hermes, Neptune and Cybele (Humphrey 1986, 62-64, 135-36, 259, 273-75) but, aside from the Lydus passage, never Nemesis.

In the end it becomes very difficult to maintain that Nemesis was the patroness of the agon in general. If this were so, we would expect dedications to her at the various excavated gymnasia and circuses. There are none. Nor do we have any dedications to her from theaters by actors or at stadia by traditional Greek athletes. What evidence we do possess—the statues at Olympia and Salamis, and perhaps the hematite text and the passage in Plutarch—is, if not ambiguous, at best rare and isolated. On the other hand, the association of the goddess with games begins in the Roman Imperial period; the connection in the West is exclusively with amphitheaters; there is an almost complete correspondence between the theaters and stadia where she was revered in the East and evidence for Roman games there; and Nemesis worship at these places by competitors is by those who were active in the Roman games. It seems accordingly that the goddess had a special, if not exclusive, relation to the Roman *munus*, *venatio* and related animal-controlling displays. Because this relationship is the earliest we can document and far more frequent and widespread, we must conclude, in opposition to the theory of Von Premerstein (1894, 407), that the particular association of Nemesis with the Roman games was entirely predominant and always primary, and that any other competitions were linked with the goddess as a result of this connection, not vice versa.

CHARACTER OF THE CULT REMAINS

The places of Nemesis worship in the theaters, amphitheaters and stadia are of three kinds: an independent structure; a particular room of the building converted into a shrine; and a certain space in the building which had been reserved for revering the goddess. In several instances, however, Nemesis dedications or statues have been uncovered but cannot be assigned to a particular shrine and we simply do not know where in the building Nemesis was worshipped.

The first kind appears restricted to the Danubian provinces, Noricum, Pannonia and Dacia. At Flavia Solva the shrine of Nemesis, measuring some 3.90 x 2.90 m., was uncovered just outside the northern entrance of the amphitheater (Schmid 1923-24, 238). The room is so identified because of the presence within of an altar bearing the dedication to Nemesis Aug(usta) by Kanius Tertullinus (Appendix Two, no. 21).

At Aquincum, a Nemesis shrine was constructed just outside the west entrance to the civilian amphitheater. Several votive inscriptions have been found at this shrine (Appendix Two, nos. 114-118, 120-126, and probably 113, 119). In the military amphitheater, a shrine is thought to have been located just outside the south entrance but because of modern construction this theory cannot be confirmed (Colin 1954, 148-49). An altar to Nemesis was found in the fossa at the center of the arena (Colin 1954, 149).

At Carnuntum, just outside the southwest entrance of the military amphitheater, lies one of the most impressive Nemesis *sacella*. It is composed of a trapezoidal cella some 6 m. in breadth with short walls measuring 5 and 4 m. respectively. The room is entered either by a grand entrance to its west consisting of a forecourt and a vestibule, or by a direct entrance on its northern side. A small side room opens off the vestibule. In the southern wall of the cella is an apse. It was within this room that a virtually complete statue of the goddess, bases and fragmentary remains of other statues, and several votive altars were uncovered. From the southern entrance passage to the civilian amphitheater have come three votive altars, one dedicated to Nemesis, one to the Fortuna of Carnuntum, and one to a syncretism of the two (Appendix Two, nos. 18-20). Although the altars were not found in their original placement, it is likely that an independently standing shrine like that at the military amphitheater and at Aquincum was also here.

At Sarmizegetusa, Nemesis had a *sacellum* just outside the eastern entrance to the amphitheater. The shrine and amphitheater have yielded numerous certain and probable dedications to the goddess, including reliefs and votive altars (Appendix Two, nos. 188-199, 201-204). A similar arrangement appears to have also existed at Scarbantia where a room outside one entrance has yielded fragmentary reliefs of Nemesis (Volkmann 1928, 314, no. 44; Herter 1935, 2361).

The second kind is more common and appears over a wide area. At Chester the Nemesis shrine was set into the cavea of the amphitheater just to the west of the northern entrance corridor, below the seating. The shrine, so definable because of a sandstone altar found within it bearing a dedication to Nemesis (Appendix Two, no. 29), is a small single room measuring some 5 x 5 m., entered from the arena. The *sacellum* apparently had two phases of use, each corresponding to the two phases discerned in the amphitheater itself, one in the early second century A.C., when the altar was probably first erected because of a plinth of identical dimensions on the floor of this level, and the second late in the third century A.C. when the altar was re-erected at a higher floor level (Thompson, Sunter & Weaver 1975, 167-68, 181-82).

A possible instance of a Nemesis *sacellum* built into an existing amphitheater occurs at Caerleon, where a lead plaque in the form of a *tabula ansata*, with holes for attachment to an object or wall, was uncovered. It bears a curse formula in cursive Latin most likely interpreted either as the request to Nemesis to punish the person who stole the cloak and boots of the dedicant (Collingwood 1928, 157-58), or as an attempt to bring Nemesis down upon the person to whom the cloak and boots belong, an enemy of the dedicant (Oxé 1931, 16-19) (Appendix Two#28). While the exact origin of the plaque in the amphitheater is uncertain, it is likely that a Nemesis *sacellum* existed there as at Chester. Boon (1962, 22) has suggested that a room with a niche on the eastern side of the building was the Nemesis shrine. It is set into the cavea level with the arena onto which it opens and measures approximately 5 m. in length, 3 m. in width.

In the amphitheater at Tarragona, a small Nemesis shrine was located on the northern side of the minor axis. The shrine, measuring 3.30 m. in length and 1.50 m. in width, was accessible from the arena down two steps (García y Bellido 1963, 177). At the foot of the steps were found two altars dedicated to Nemesis (Appendix Two, nos. 226-227).

At Lepcis Magna a *sacellum* was built into the center of the southern curve of the amphitheater, in the upper portion of the cavea (Di Vita 1964, 136; Foucher 1974, 187). It is clear that the shrine belonged to Nemesis because from it came two marble stelae bearing dedications to Nemesis and depicting a griffin with its forepaw upon a wheel, and a limestone base with a similar dedication by the same individual (Appendix Two, no. 159).

At Pola, a room in the amphitheater, approximately 10 x 4 m., just to the east of the south entrance, has yielded two altars dedicated to Nemesis (Appendix Two, nos. 41, 44). At Stobi, the center room of the stage building in the theater, some 2.60 x 2.25 m., had been transformed into a Nemesis shrine in which were found a statue base inscribed with a dedication to the goddess as Ultrix Augusta (Appendix Two, no. 161), a sandstone aedicula inscribed with a Greek dedication to Nemesis (Appendix Two, no. 162), fragments of a statue probably depicting Nemesis, and a torso of another female statue of uncertain character (Saria 1938, 106-115).

At Ephesos it is unclear exactly where the Neikonemeseion was located. On the other hand, an inscription found reused in a late antique wall near the entrance to the north parodos of the great theater commemorates the restoration of the pronaos of the Nemeseion by the city with the financial support of one Julia Potentilla during the reign of Gordian III (Appendix Two, no. 239). The location of this Nemeseion was probably in the stage building where a statue of Nemesis was uncovered.

Another possible example of this kind may have existed at Side, where the fragments of a marble altar with a dedication to Nemesis (Appendix Two, no. 260) were discovered in the debris of the stage building of the theater. Two other altars dedicated to Nemesis were found in secondary usage elsewhere at Side and perhaps originated in the theater as well (Appendix Two, nos. 261, 262). A similar possibility also exists at nearby Perge where the Nemesis statue was uncovered in the ruins of the stage building of the theater.

At Salona, the location of Nemesis worship in the amphitheater is uncertain but has been associated with the second type of shrine. An altar (Appendix Two, no. 45) dedicated to the goddess was discovered in the southern part of the cavea (Dyggve 1933, 84, no. 22). The excavator suggested that the altar originally came from one of two small rooms, later used as martyria, situated in the southern part of the building and opening upon the corridor for gladiators, and this idea led him to define these rooms as Nemesis *sacella* (Dyggve 1933, 108). However, since no evidence for any Nemesis worship remains in these rooms, the theory is entirely speculative (Colin 1954, 149, note 1).

To the third kind belong two examples. One is at Italica, where the main entrance corridor of the amphitheater appears to have served as a focus of the cult of Nemesis. The numerous votive inscriptions uncovered in that passageway (Appendix Two, nos. 216-225), some in situ on the paving stones accompanied by *vestigia*, define the area as a focal point. It should be pointed out here that not all of these dedications mention a deity, some are fragmentary, and some do not refer specifically to Nemesis. In fact, one offering is to Caelestis Pia Augusta, another to Domina Regi(n)a, and a third perhaps to Domina Ourania (Appendix Two, nos. 220-222). Perhaps Nemesis was worshipped here with another deity, the Punic deity Caelestis, venerated widely in North Africa and parts of Spain. However, the worship of Caelestis in games contexts is elsewhere unknown, and it is probably better to assert with Canto (1984, 187) that we have but a single deity in all of these dedications, involving a syncretism between Nemesis and Caelestis. Moreover, not only are the dedications from an area clearly held as sacred to Nemesis, but each of these three particular offerings contain names which are elsewhere attested as epithets of Nemesis (Caelestis: Appendix Two, nos. 215; Regina: Appendix Two, nos. 33, 38, 87, 127, 150, 167, 168, 173, 175, 178, 185, 188, 199, 283; Ourania: Appendix Two, no. 72).

The second instance is at Philippi, where the vaulted west parodos of the theater appears to have been used as a focus of Nemesis worship. The keystone from one of the arches bears a relief of Nemesis on one side, a bull's head on the other (Collart 1928, 110, fig. 21). Since the piece had fallen, it is uncertain which direction the Nemesis faced, but because the bull's head in other cases is used as a prophylactic emblem and should have accordingly faced outward, Collart (1928, 110, 112) suggests that the side with Nemesis faced the orchestra. Discovered in the same passageway were reliefs of Nike, Ares, and Nemesis dedicated by a priest of Nemesis, Marcus Bellius Zosimos, on behalf of the "lovers of hunting" (Appendix Two, nos. 84-86).

In other instances we simply are unable to determine the type of shrine of the goddess. This can occur when no original provenience within the particular amphitheater or theater can be determined for the inscriptions or artwork relating to the cult. It can happen when the building itself is unexcavated; or when no evidence of actual cult has been found, only images of the goddess as part of the sculptural program of the building. It can also happen when the evidence relating the goddess to the games was not uncovered at a games site.

One example in the first category is the dedication to Nemesis unearthed in the northern entrance passage of the amphitheater at Merida (Appendix Two, no. 215), which was not in its original location. Another example is the votive altar (Appendix Two, no. 280) discovered in the eastern proskenion of the theater at Chersonesos in a stratum datable to the fourth century A.C., but which must itself be earlier than the fourth century. Also, a fragment of an altar bearing a dedication to Nemesis (Appendix Two, no. 2) was uncovered in the amphitheater at Cherchel but its exact provenance is unpublished. Belonging to the same category are the altar from the Venafrum amphitheater (Appendix Two, no. 154), the altar from the Theater of Dionysos at Athens (Appendix Two, no. 71), the column, 25 cm. in height, found in the Great Theater at Ilion (Appendix Two, no. 277), the altar bearing a dedication and relief of Nemesis found in the theater at Miletos (Appendix Two, no. 251), and the lower portion of a Nemesis relief found in the amphitheater at Gortyna (Perdrizet 1898, 599-600, pl. 16; Flagge 1976, fig. 132). All of these items were excavated so early that their exact place of origin in the respective structures is uncertain.

In the second category are four dedications to Nemesis from Savaria (Appendix Two, nos. 129-132). Only one (Appendix Two, no. 132) can be directly associated with the theater, an altar found in the unexcavated depression on Calvary Hill which is plausibly identified as the location of that ancient building (Balla, et al. 1971, 17). The other dedications probably originally came from the same place although they were subsequently moved and one is still built into the city gate (Appendix Two, no. 129).

To the third category belongs the panel relief of Nemesis on the end of one of the exedrae of the pulpitum in the theater at Sabratha (Caputo 1959, 18, fig. 60). In the same class we can place the marble decorative panel depicting Nemesis which remains in situ on the scaenae frons between the north side door and the cavea of the theater at Hierapolis, and the marble door jambs of the south door of the same stage which feature identical figures of Nemesis (D'Andria & Ritti 1985, 167-71, pl. 44). Perhaps this doorway was the entrance to a Nemesis shrine set up in one of the rooms of the stage building, as at Stobi. Also in the third category are the two underlifesize broken statues of Nemesis which flanked the entrance vault to the stadion at Olympia (Treu 1897, 237-38, pl. LIX.2-3), and perhaps the statue of the goddess discovered in the theater at Perge which could have been part of the sculptural program of the stage front, since we possess no dedications to the goddess from the building.

In the fourth category is the funerary inscription from Verona of a gladiator who warns the reader not to have any faith in Nemesis (Appendix Two, no. 155). Belonging to the same group is the altar from Teurnia with a relief depicting three men, whose dress marks them as combatants in the games, and a bear, accompanied by a figure of Diana who makes an offering upon an altar on which the name of Nemesis Aug(usta) is inscribed (Appendix Two, no. 24) (Von Jaksch 1904, 1-9).

The votive relief dedicated to Nemesis at Andautonia (Appendix Two, no. 38) is of the same kind, not having been found at an actual games site, but being clearly linked to the games because it depicts Nemesis holding the weapons of the arena. Also in the fourth category are: the marble stela with pediment and acroteria from Aphrodisias, which features a relief of Nemesis and an inscription stating that it is a memorial of the gladiatorial *familia* and group of *venatores* belonging to the high priest of the imperial cult M. Antonius Apella Severinus (Appendix Two, no. 235); two dedications from Halikarnassos, one by a *retiarius* (Appendix Two, no. 241) and the other by one Jason, son of Nikanor, to the Nemeseis on behalf of several gladiators, inluding a *mormyllōn* and a Thracian (Appendix Two, no. 242); the dedication to the goddess by a man who offers gladiatorial shows, which was found in the modern village of Platianos, but was perhaps originally from nearby ancient Prusa (Appendix Two, no. 257); and the stele from Stratonikeia dedicated by the *stratēgoi* to Nemesis, Hekate and Zeus on the occassion of the giving of gladiatorial games (Appendix Two, no. 273).

The nature of the place of worship of Nemesis in the theater at Thasos presents a special problem. Uncovered in the theater were not only the Nemesis relief mentioned earlier but also two other reliefs (Bernard & Salviat 1962, 598-600), two dedicatory inscriptions (one accompanying a relief and the other on a votive altar) (Appendix Two, nos. 105, 107), and possibly two additional dedications (one with a relief) (Appendix Two, nos. 106, 108). Of the reliefs, two were discovered in the western parodos and the other was carved upon one of the antae of the stage front. It has been suggested that the first two reliefs also originated in the proskenion since they are carved onto architectural blocks, not stelae (Bernard & Salviat 1962, 598-600). The original location of the votive altar is not ascertainable. The place of Nemesis cult in the Thasos theater is therefore not entirely certain.

NEMESIS ICONOGRAPHY AND EPITHETS

There are several iconographic types of Nemesis which appear in games contexts. Numerically the most popular seems to be the image of a wingless Nemesis wearing a long dress, holding a measuring stick and scales. It appears twice at Philippi: once with chiton and mantle on the keystone from the west parodos of the theater (Collart 1928, 110, fig. 21) (Plate XIX), and once, on the dedication by Marcus Bellius Zosimos, where the goddess, in peplos, has a wheel at her feet to the right (Chapouthier 1924, 291, fig. 3; Collart 1928, 109; Schweitzer 1931, 206) (Plate XX).

The type is likely to be found in at least one instance at Sarmizegetusa, in an openwork relief depicting Nemesis with a griffin at her feet to her left and a wheel to her right (Daicoviciu & Daicoviciu 1962, fig. 41; Alicu 1979, 90, no. 99, pl. XXII). Unfortunately, the scales have broken off, but the arrangement of the struts indicates that they were probably present. The goddess was also probably portrayed in a similar fashion on the other more fragmentary carvings from her *sacellum*. One fragmentary relief shows a *togatus* making an offering upon an altar, the right hand of Nemesis holding scales, and a winged griffin with its right forepaw upon a globe (Daicoviciu & Daicoviciu 1962, 78, no. 20; Alicu 1979, 88, no. 90, pl. XXII.90). A very similar fragment, but with the dedicant dressed in a tunic, was found some 80 m. from the southeast corner of the town wall but is quite likely originally from the Nemeseion (Alicu 1979, 88, no. 89, pl. XXII.89). Other relief fragments include portions of the goddess. Sometimes her legs and the bottom of her long dress are preserved, sometimes a greater portion of her body with the measuring stick in her left hand, once a portion of her body with scales in her right hand, in five instances only her wheel.[9] The same combination of attributes may also have been used at Stobi where a fragmentary statue was found, probably depicting Nemesis holding scales (Volkmann 1934, 59; Wiseman 1973, 72).

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[9] Alicu 1979, 88, no. 91, 89, no. 92—of unknown provenience; 90, no. 100, 91, no. 103—found near the amphitheater; 91, nos. 102, 104—of unknown provenience, 105—found near the amphitheater, pl. XIII; 90-91, 101, pl. XXIII; 89, nos. 93-94—of unknown provenience, nos. 95-97; 90, no. 98.

The different dress of figures from Philippi (long chiton and mantle, peplos) and Sarmizegetusa (long chiton and mantle) would seem to preclude derivation from a single cult image. Instead, it is the attributes that are most significant, those distinctive to Nemesis having been applied to figures of varying appearance. This is a feature not unusual in an era when the same statue forms were often used as stock bodies for a variety of deities, with only the attributes of those deities serving to specify the image.[10] The measuring stick is a standard attribute of Nemesis, appearing especially as the instrument of one of the two Nemeseis of Smyrna (see below). In antiquity this measuring stick is said to denote that one should do nothing beyond proper measure (Vettius Valens 1.261.29; *Anthologia Graeca* XVI.223-224). Mesomedes (*Hymnus in Nemesin* 11) states that Nemesis "always measures life with her stick". This might imply an alternate interpretation of the attribute as a tool for measuring the duration of life, like the thread of the Moirai. However, it is also possible that the meaning here is, as in Valens or the *Anthologia*, a moral one, a measure not of the length of life but the character of life.

The scales can be interpreted in two ways. Our only literary reference to them as an attribute of Nemesis, the Hymn of Mesomedes (Lines 1, 15), calls them the "scales of life". This brings to mind the literary image of the scales in which Zeus weighs the portions of death for heroes (Homer, *Ilias* 22.209-13; Vergil, *Aeneis* 12.725-28). On the other hand, as in the case of the measuring stick, it is not clear exactly what Mesomedes means. Is the "scales of life" a symbol of the power of Nemesis over one's ultimate fate or of her evaluation of the character of one's life ? The scales is commonly associated with Justice: Dike, Iustitia, Dikaiosyne, and Aequitas[11]; a feature which would direct us towards the second interpretation.

Moreover, we know that Nemesis was often associated, especially in the Roman Imperial era, with Justice (see Chapter Two, note 24, and below).

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[10] The adaptation of stock bodies for different deities simply by switching attributes is found in many instances. For example, at Side two variants of the same original are adapted as Hygieia and Nemesis (Inan 1975, 98-101, no. 36; 101-102, no. 37). An even better example can be seen in the stock type from Side (Inan 1975, 127, no. 57) which is used for a private individual in that case but also appears with ears of grain and a poppy as Demeter or Persephone in a copy in the Louvre (cited by Inan 1975, 127) and occurs as Nemesis at Perge (Inan 1983, 11; Özgür 1987, no. 24).

[11] For the scales as an attribute of Dikaiosyne see Balty 1986, 388. For the scales as an attribute of Aequitas see Belloni 1981, 241-43. The scales were mentioned as an attribute of Dike as early as the fifth century B.C. (Aeschylus, *Choephori* 61; Bacchylides 16.25-26), and the concept continued well into the Roman Imperial period, as is shown by the inscription from Hierapolis (Appendix Two, no. 244). For the scales as an attribute of Iustitia one can look to Roman Imperial coinage issues like that of Pescennius Niger (Robertson 1977, xlii.3).

Four images may further aid in understanding the meaning of the scales of Nemesis. In a relief from Thessaloniki the goddess is depicted holding scales (Plate XIII), with an accompanying inscription which explicitly calls her "Dikaia" (Appendix Two, no. 110). One panel on a four-relief altar from Thiatyra in Phrygia depicts Nemesis holding the scales, and the altar is dedicated to the "theoi hosioi kai dikaioi" (Mendel 1914, 52-53, no. 846). The relief panel from the theater at Hierapolis depicts Nemesis accompanied by two goddesses (Plate XXI), one of whom carries scales and is plausibly identified as Dike or Dikaiosyne (D'Andria & Ritti 1985, 167). The scales are also used as an attribute of one of the three Nemeseis on the relief from the theater at Thasos (Plate XXII), and here they are in combination with the other typical attribute of Dike, the sword.[12] Finally, and of exceptional importance in solving this problem, is an inscription from Hierapolis (Appendix Two, no. 244) which states explicitly that "Nemesis holds the scales of Dike". In the context of Nemesis' iconography the scales would thus seem to have served as a means of associating her with justice.

The cult images of the Smyrna Nemeseis, making the typical Nemesis gesture and having as their usual attributes the measuring stick and the bridle, are quoted in four instances. At Thasos the relief depicting three Nemeseis (Rossbach 1897-1902, 157-58, fig. 6; Mendel 1914, 75-77, no. 862) (Plate XXII) shows two in a single carved niche. Unlike the Smyrna goddesses, they are identical, wearing the same type of long dress with a mantle, making the typical gesture with their right hands, and holding a measuring stick in their left hands. Nonetheless the gesture and measuring stick, as well as the duality, clearly evoke the Nemeseis of Smyrna. A second relief from Thasos depicts a single Nemesis making her gesture and holding a measuring stick (Plate XVIII). Another relief (Bernard & Salviat 1962, 600-601, figs. 19-20), carved upon the left anta of the stage front with an accompanying inscription (Appendix Two, no. 105), is similar in depicting the goddess with a measuring stick, but since her other hand is at her side, she is not of the Smyrna type.

The third and fourth allusions to the Smyrna Nemeseis are found at Hierapolis. The panel on the stage front decoration depicts a winged Nemesis, wearing a long belted chiton with *apoptygma*, making her typical gesture with her right hand, and holding a bridle in her left hand (Plate XXI). To her left is a quadrangular altar and farther to her left are two figures, tentatively identified as Elpis and Dike or Dikaiosyne, the latter because she carries scales. The same type, although wingless, perhaps for lack of space (D'Andria & Ritti 1985, 167), appears as a pair flanking the south door of the stage, and no doubt provides a numerical allusion to Smyrna as well (Plate XXIII).

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[12] For the sword as an attribute of Dike see Shapiro 1986, 391.

Another common type is that of Nemesis standing upon a prostrate figure. The type and its variants have already been plausibly connected with the image of the emperor or his virtue, Pax, crushing an enemy underfoot, and cited as an example of the association between Nemesis and the Roman state (supra Chapter Two, pp. 35-36). The image appears at Tarragona on the left wall of the amphitheater shrine (when entering) in a painting which depicts three figures (Plate XV). The central one has been interpreted as Kairos (Mielsch 1981, 242), as a fighter in the arena—a *malabarista* or *equilibrista* (Abad Casal 1982, 337-39), or as Nemesis (Garcia y Bellido 1963, 177-81). The figure must certainly be Nemesis. She is depicted wearing a short tunic and cuirass, stepping on a prone figure of uncertain sex with her right leg, bending her left leg at the knee over a wheel, and holding in her left hand a globe. The Tarragona version, as we have seen in the previous chapter, is quite similar to a distinctive Nemesis iconographic type which is found mainly in the eastern Mediterranean. It is particularly close in form to the earliest example of the type on Alexandrian coinage during the reign of Trajan and to the recently discovered figure on a relief from Patras (Plate VI and Papapostolou 1989, fig. 16).

The type also occurs at Gortyna but in this instance Nemesis is shown standing upon a prostrate man, with a serpent to her right and a winged griffin to her left, and she is wearing a long dress (Perdrizet 1898, 599-600, pl. 16; Flagge 1976, fig. 132) (Plate XI). If we accept Papapostolou's (1989, 368-70) suggestion that the relief discovered at Patras some 100 m. from the likely remains of an amphitheater originated in that context, we may add a third example of the type. In this instance, as at Tarragona, the goddess wears a cuirass, but here she is winged, stands upon a female figure, and is accompanied by a winged griffin with a wheel (Papapostolou 1989, fig. 16). Related is the image on the altar from the Miletos theater (Mendel 1914, no. 864) depicting Nemesis wearing a cuirass and in a pose much like that of her representation at Tarragona, but because it is missing the usual prostrate figure beneath her feet it cannot be securely classed with this type.

Another type is an attempt to foster a syncretism between Tyche and Nemesis. The statue found in the stage building at Ephesos (Plate XVII) holds a cornucopia and apparently a steering rudder in her left hand, a measuring stick in her right, and is accompanied by a winged griffin and apparently a globe. The goddess wears a long dress and mantle, and, as we have seen in the previous chapter, apparently a mural version of a *polos* or *kalathos* upon her head, perhaps indicating that she is the protectress of the city. Another suggested attempt to create an assimilation to Tyche may be seen in the twin statues from Olympia. Both images wear a long peplos with an *apoptygma*, hold a measuring stick in the left hand, and are steering a wheel at their feet with a rudder in the right hand (Treu 1897, 237-38, pl. LIX.2-3).

Another type is attested in one instance, at Perge. The marble statue (Inan 1986, 142, fig. 45) is damaged but enough remains to demonstrate that it belongs to the same iconographic type, the so-called "Colonna-Borghese", as several other examples from elsewhere in Perge and from Kremna[13], but in no other case from a games context. The figure can be identified as Nemesis because she holds a measuring stick in her left hand and, like the other examples of this type, she was accompanied by a griffin; undoubtedly she made her typical gesture with her broken right hand because the dress running across her breast is peaked at the spot where her fingers would have touched.

A completely unique type is the one assimilating Nemesis to Diana at Carnuntum. This limestone statue depicts the goddess wearing a short chiton, rolled down to expose one breast, holding in her right hand a whip, in her left a sword in a scabbard, bearing upon her head a crescent moon, and having at her feet on either side a wheel and a griffin (Plate XXIV). Both in the amazonian fashion of the dress and in the crescent, the image appears to make visible assimilation to Diana, with whom Nemesis is associated in another inscription from the shrine (Appendix Two, no. 8). The sword is a rare attribute for Nemesis[14] but may either be emblematic of her connection to battles of the arena or indicate some association with Dike/Iustitia who, as we have seen, more typically receives this attribute. In this case the presence of the whip, used in the arena by the *venatores*, as in the relief accompanying the dedication to Nemesis from Teurnia (Plate XXV) or in the relief from Apri (Robert 1940, 90-92, no. 27, pl. XXIV.27), would probably indicate a connection with the arena.

An association with Diana is also perhaps meant in the relief from the Miletos theater (Mendel 1914, no. 864) in which the type of Nemesis carries a bow and arrow. In the relief from Teurnia (Plate XXV) the presence of a typical Diana figure making an offering upon an altar on which "Nemesis Aug(usta)" is inscribed has led Von Jaksch (1901, 8-9) and

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[13] For a full discussion of this type see Fleischer (1989, 127-41); he argues that it derives from the Colonna-Borghese Type, which he believes to have been created in the late Hellenistic period, deriving from the so-called "Venus Genetrix" type, and to have perhaps originally been a Nemesis, not an Aphrodite, since all the extant replicas that can be securely identified with a deity can be shown to depict Nemesis.

[14] The sword appears as an attribute of Nemesis also on an Imperial jasper in Berlin (Furtwängler 1896, 309.8438, fig. 8438), the relief from the theater at Thasos (Plate XXII), and on a coinage issue minted at Sinope under Trajan Decius (*BMC Pontus* 102, pl. XIII.10).

Foucher (1974, 188, 192) to see the figure as an assimilation of Nemesis and Diana. While it is not clear that the image here is really meant as Nemesis-Diana rather than Diana alone, the dedication to Nemesis juxtaposed to the image of Diana speaks of a close alliance between the two deities in the arena.

Another unique type was found at Andautonia with an accompanying dedication (Appendix Two, no. 38). Nemesis appears standing within an arch, wearing a short chiton and boots, and holding an array of weapons connected with the arena: a trident (the implement of the *retiarii*), a whip, and a rectangular shield (like that of the Thracian and Samnite gladiators) (Plate XXVI). She also carries a torch and a palm branch, the former a rare attribute of hers which, like the whip, is used in the *venatio* (Diez 1946, 9) or which may denote her power of punishment, especially just punishment[15]; the latter is no doubt emblematic of victory.

In two instances only the Nemesis griffin is found. At Flavia Solva, a dedication to Nemesis (Appendix Two, no. 22) bears a relief of a man dressed in a tunic, holding a shield and a whip, with a gladiatorial helmet and a trident in the field to his right (Plate XXVII). He is crowned by Nike, and between them is a winged griffin (Weber 1969, 224-25, no. 168). From the Lepcis shrine came two marble stelae bearing dedications (Appendix Two, no. 159) and depicting a griffin with its forepaw upon a wheel.

The image of the goddess found in the Nemeseion of the civilian amphitheater at Aquincum consists only of a damaged head (Plate XXVIII) and a portion of the drapery covered chest and left arm (Torma 1881, Tab. XIII). Consequently, no type can be determined. The same is true for the relief at Sabratha, which only preserves the lower part of the goddess with her wheel (Caputo 1959, 18, fig. 60). The relief accompanying the dedication from Aphrodisias (Appendix Two, no. 235) has been described but not published. It depicts a winged Nemesis accompanied by a wheel and flanked by two Nikai carrying palm branches (Robert 1940, 170, no. 156).

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[15] The torch appears as an attribute of Nemesis also in the second or third century A.C. limestone statue of the goddess discovered in the residence of the governor of Pannonia Inferior at Aquincum (Szilágyi 1956, 100, 153) and in an aquamarine in Göttingen dated on style to the first century B.C. or the first century A.C. (Gercke 1970, 105.211, fig. 211). The torch is an attribute of many divine figures and its meaning certainly must be quite varied. It is used, for example, by the Mithraic Cautes and Cautopates probably as symbolic of the rising and sinking of the sun above and below the celestial equator at the equinoxes (Ulansey 1989, 64). With Nemesis the torch appears to denote punishment. It mainly occurs as the instrument by which Eros is punished in the presence of Nemesis (the Hellenistic silver bowl from Novocherkassk—Kaposhina, 1963, pl. XXX; a krater in the Chigi Palace—Rossbach 1897-1902, 155, fig. 5; a sarcophagus also in Rome—Rossbach 1897-1902, 161-62, fig. 7; and a jasper in the Ruthven Collection which specifies the just nature of the punishment by the inscription "dikaios"—Bonner 1950, 279.161, fig. 161).

The other characteristics of this Nemesis representation are unknown. The fragmentary relief of Nemesis found at Scarbantia has not been described (Volkmann 1928, 314, no. 44; 1934, 61, note 6).

There are some differences between the representational types of Nemesis found in the games contexts and those found outside. Unique to the games contexts are the Diana type and that showing the goddess with the weaponry of the arena, but these are also entirely unique. Perhaps a more significant distinction lies in the importance given to the scales as an attribute of the goddess in the arena. It certainly appears in at least seven instances there, quite probably in an eighth, is associated with a figure accompanying Nemesis in a ninth, and is certainly lacking in only seven representations of the goddess. The wheel and the measuring stick, two of the most common attributes of Nemesis, are more frequent in arena images of the goddess, appearing some fifteen and fourteen times respectively. However, unlike the games contexts in which these two attributes are less than twice as numerous as the scales, outside the arena they are over four times and over twice as numerous as the scales respectively.[16] Perhaps also noteworthy is the contrast between the popularity of the image of Nemesis standing on a prone figure in the arena and its relative infrequency, when compared with other types, outside the games.[17]

In the context of the games the epithets applied to Nemesis and her conflations with other deities generally differ little from the appellations and syncretisms found in the entire corpus of inscriptions (Tables 3 & 4). The epithet Augusta is predominant, more frequent than even Dea/Thea and over twice as common as any other appellation, but it is not proportionately as numerous as in the general corpus. Also, as in the complete corpus, the second and third most common appellations are Dea/Thea and Regina respectively. Other epithets or associations found for Nemesis in the arena as well as in contexts which cannot be linked with the games are assimilations with Diana and Fortuna, although the epigraphic syncretism with the latter appears in the games specifically with a municipal Fortuna, not the goddess in general. Unique to inscriptions associated with the games are the epithets Numen, Invicta/Aniketos, Omnipotens, Conservatrix, and Praesens. Similarly unparalleled is her direct conflation with Juno (Appendix Two, no. 3).

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[16] The scales occur as an attribute of Nemesis in 53 instances outside the arena. The wheel appears as an attribute of Nemesis outside of games contexts in at least some 215 representations during the Roman Imperial period, excluding those examples which appear only with a griffin and not with the goddess proper. The measuring stick appears as a Nemesis attribute outside the arena during the Roman Imperial period in at least some 112 instances, excluding those examples which appear at Smyrna or in coinage of confederation with Smyrna, where their presence is not statistically significant because one of the cult images there held the measuring stick, and therefore one would expect a repetitive frequency in the local artwork. See Appendix Four.

[17] The three examples of the type of Nemesis trampling upon a fallen human figure which occur (or probably occur) in arena contexts are nearly as numerically common as those indebted to the Smyrna images, and are more widespread geographically. By contrast, there are nine (eleven, if one counts each of the three Alexandrian coinage issues of Trajan) examples of the same type which appear with no arena context (see Chapter 2), but, even excluding examples from Smyrna or in confederation coinage between Smyrna and other cities, there are in the Roman Imperial era at least some 33 instances of the goddess holding a bridle and making the Nemesis gesture, and at least some 51 instances for the type with the measuring stick and gesture. See Appendix Five.

Juno, Conservatrix, and Omnipotens may, in general, not be very useful for elucidating a particular view of Nemesis peculiar to the games because each is not only unique to arena contexts but is entirely unique. The association with Juno may further not have any special implications for our understanding of Nemesis in games contexts because, although it is only found explicit in a dedication here, the connection was probably more widely implicit in the popular epithet of Regina given to Nemesis and is perhaps attested iconographically in the Jupiter Cameo (see Chapter Two). The use of "Conservatrix" may be yet another link with Juno, since Conservator was a special epithet of Jupiter. With "Omnipotens", the idea it conveys is certainly in keeping with the exalted status of the goddess found in inscriptions which show no connection with the arena, like the one from Rome in which Nemesis is called "Queen of the Universe" (Appendix Two, no. 150). "Praesens" only occurs twice, boths times at Italica, and does not reveal anything more specific about the character of Nemesis in the games than that she was a particularly efficacious power there.

The idea of calling a deity "numen" rather than "deus" is not found before the reign of Augustus (Pfister 1937, 1278). The term is certainly not unique to Nemesis and was applied to various deities in the Imperial period including Apollo, Hercules, Mithra, Minerva, and Diana (Pfister 1937, 1278). Why it is found only in arena contexts when used of Nemesis must remain unexplained.

The application of invicta or aniketos to Nemesis at the games seems more easily explained. If the goddess was seen as the bringer of victory for participants in the games, her unconquerability might be thus intimately connected with her role in the arena. This is certainly plausible if one believes that the Philippi dedications were made on behalf of *venatores* or *iuvenes* (Appendix Two, nos. 84-86), but at Merida it is more difficult to accept because the dedicant cannot be characterized as a combatant and was probably not one because of his probable freeborn status (Appendix Two, no. 215). Perhaps "Unconquerable" is suited to the goddess not merely in a role of bringing victory for the participants in the games but also in bringing her undefeatable power against enemies of the state (see below).

This would certainly well explain the application of the related epithet "Victrix" to the goddess by a prison guard in the urban cohorts in a third century A.C. inscription from Rome (Appendix Two, no. 149).

WORSHIPPERS OF NEMESIS

It might be assumed that the devotees of Nemesis in the context of the games were largely the participants in those games. This was, however, not the case. Of the 90 (59) inscriptions which can be associated with the games only ten can probably be safely connected with actual competitors. Three mark participants in gladiatorial contests: the grave monument of Glaucus from Verona (Appendix Two, no. 155), the dedication of Stephanos the *retiarius* from Halikarnassos (Appendix Two, no. 241), the dedication listing gladiators apparently associated with Jason, son of Nikanor at Halikarnassos (Appendix Two, no. 242). One is associated with both gladiators and *venatores*: the memorial from Aphrodisias in honor of the gladiatorial *familia* and the *venatores* belonging to the high priest of the imperial cult, M. Antonius Apella Severinus (Appendix Two, no. 235).

Another item is probably also associated with both gladiators and *venatores*: the relief from Flavia Solva which depicts a gladiator crowned by Victory, with the griffin of Nemesis between them. The inscription on this monument is fragmentary and lacks the name or profession of the dedicant. Since the gladiator is shown with equipment that would belong to at least two different types of gladiators (a shield and helmet typical of a more heavily armed type like a *secutor* or *mormyllōn*, and the trident of a *retiarius*) and a *venator* (a whip and a torch), it is unlikely that the figure represents a single dedicant (Diez 1946, 9-10, 12). It would be plausible to see the piece as representing a *familia* of gladiators and *venatores* as at Aphrodisias, although, as Diez (1946, 12) points out, such monuments are normally, like the Aphrodisias example, funerary in nature and ill suited for dedication since members of a *familia* may actually fight one another during their lives. Diez (1946, 12) instead prefers to see the relief as set up by a giver of the games or a *lanista*.

One relief with dedication belongs to *venatores*: that from Teurnia (Appendix Two, no. 24). One inscription is certainly connected with *iuvenes*: the funerary monument from Vintium mentioning a *collegium iuvenum Nemesiorum* (Appendix Two, no. 63). Another, the funerary inscription of T. Calleus Marcianus from Ebora mentioning the *amici Nemesiaci*, is probably also to be associated with a group of *iuvenes*, given the age of 20 at which Calleus Marcianus died (Appendix Two, no. 163) (Garcia y Bellido 1967, 92).

Two inscriptions can possibly be connected with either *venatores* or *iuvenes*. One is on the relief from the Philippi theater dedicated by the priest of Nemesis on behalf of the association (*stemma*) of the "lovers of hunting" (Appendix Two, nos. 84-86). Chapouthier (1924, 292, 301) and Collart (19, 383-84) believed this group to be a professional guild of *venatores*. However, Robert (1940, 323) points out that normally such a group is termed a "familia" and *venatores* are called "kunēgoi". Robert prefers to see the members not as actual participants in the hunt spectacles but as fans of those events or of a particular group of *venatores*. An alternate possibility, since Philippi was a Roman colony, is that the group could consist of amateur hunters in the arena akin to the *iuvenes* in the West. The second is the dedication to Ephesian Artemis at Aquileia by a *sunedrion* of Nemesian hunters (Appendix Two, no. 143). As Pleket (1969, 285) suggests, this group exibits no evidence of a connection with the arena, as either *venatores* or *iuvenes*, save their association with Nemesis.

Several other attempts to associate Nemesis dedications with participants in the arena are much less plausible. Garcia y Bellido (1967, 89-90) believed that the two inscriptions from the Tarragona amphitheater were to be so interpreted. In one of these the dedicant is only preserved as "...ESS..." (Appendix Two, no. 226). Garcia y Bellido (1967, 89, no. 7) would like to see an *essedarius* here. The word is just as plausibly interpreted by Alföldy (1975, 26, no. 46), however, as part of a name like Gessius or Messius. The other instance is a dedication to Nemesis by Cornelius Senecianus and Valeria Pompeia for the well being of "Nummius Didymus" (Appendix Two, no. 227). Garcia y Bellido (1967, 90, no. 8) suggests that Nummius Didymus is a gladiator, but Alföldy (1975, 25, no. 45) proposes he is the governor M. Nummius Umbius Primus M.f. Gal. Senecio Albinus.

An altar from Köln-Deutz (Appendix Two, no. 65) has been assigned to the arena, although it was not uncovered there but in secondary usage in the eastern gate of the fortress. It has been suggested that since the dedication is to Diana-Nemesis, presumably patroness of the arena, the abbreviation "TR" following the name of the dedicant, Aurelius Avitus, should be interpreted as "Thraex" or the Thracian type of gladiator (Binsfeld 1960, 161-63; 1962/63, 143; Galsterer & Galsterer 1975, 16, no. 17). The abbreviation normally would stand for a word like "tribunus" or "trierarch", but it has been pointed out that the dedicant fails to give a military identification (Galsterer & Galsterer 1975, 16, no. 17). However, there are other military personnel in this corpus alone who also fail to mention their legionary affilation, like the centurion at Chester (Appendix Two, no. 29) and the *cornicularius* at Aquincum (Appendix Two, no. 127), and Diana-Nemesis need not be worshipped by a gladiator since her devotees include a legionary architect at Bonn (Appendix Two, no. 64) and government officials at Aquincum (Appendix Two, no. 114). Further, one might question whether

Diana is really appropriate for a gladiator rather than a *venator* since it is this aspect of the games with which she is most clearly connected (Tertullian, *De Spectaculis* XII).

At Thasos, Bernard and Salviat (1962, 603) believe that the dedicants were gladiators. This idea is very difficult to maintain. In one instance (Appendix Two, no. 105), there is no evidence in the inscription or associated relief to define the dedicant as a combatant in the arena. In the other case (Appendix Two, no. 106), the theory of Dunant and Pouilloux (1958, 162) is followed in interpreting the mythological nickname "Sisyphos" of the dedicant as denoting a gladiator. However, the inscription was not found in the theater. Further, while the use of mythological nicknames is found among gladiators (Robert 1940, 297, 299), neither the mythological name nor the use of a nickname is restricted to gladiators.[18]

The curse text from Caerleon (Appendix Two, no. 28) has been generally thought to be directed at a gladiator or *venator* (Collingwood 1928, 157-58; Oxé 1931, 16-19; Egger 1943, 108-10), perhaps by a rival combatant (Egger 1943, 108-10). The assumption that a participant in the games is involved on either end of the curse is based solely upon the provenience of the text from the amphitheater. This fact alone, however, by no means establishes the identity of either the requestor or the victim. One should keep in mind that the Caerleon amphitheater is a military structure associated with the Second Legion. It is therefore just as likely that the *defixio* involved soldiers, especially since, as we shall see, Nemesis worshippers at other military amphitheaters are almost always legionaries (the sole possible exception among complete texts being Claudius Victor at Carnuntum who gives no military affiliation—Appendix Two, no. 5).

It has been asserted that the appearance of a trident carved on inscription fragments from Sarmizegetusa marks the dedicant as a *retiarius* (Piso 1974-75, 67). Similarly, it has been suggested that the figure with the bear in the Tarragona painting (Plate XV) means that the dedicant was a combatant in the arena (Garcia y Bellido 1963, 181). However, the trident and the apparent *venator* with bear may serve merely as symbols for the context of the games themselves in which the dedication was made, serving a purpose much like the attribution to Nemesis of the weaponry of the various combatants of the arena in the Andautonia relief (Plate XXVI) which was not dedicated by a gladiator or *venator*. This is especially likely in the case of the Tarragona example. Within the context of the painting, the figure with the bear is not at all integral to the composition. Instead, Nemesis turns her back to him, hardly a likely position for a figure as important as the dedicant himself.

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[18] The widespread use of mythological names in the Imperial era is noted by Robert (1940, 298-99) and Dunant & Pouilloux (1958, 165). Two instances of the use of nicknames by non-gladiators can be found in funerary stelae from Anatolia (Pfuhl & Möbius 1977, I: 112, no. 275; 1979, II: 415, no. 1701).

Nearly twice as numerous as dedications by arena participants at the theaters and amphitheaters are those by soldiers, public officials or public entities like an entire city. Various levels of the military are represented, nearly always in the context of the military amphitheaters. There is one likely *primus pilus* at Carnuntum (Appendix Two, no. 6, and possibly the same man in Appendix Two, no. 10). There are three centurions, one at Chester (Appendix Two, no. 29), and two at Carnuntum (Appendix Two, nos. 4, 12). There are also a tubicen at Carnuntum (Appendix Two, no. 3); two veterans, one at Carnuntum (Appendix Two, no. 8) and one at Andautonia, who perhaps is also a decurion in the local government (Appendix Two, no. 38); a *cornicularius* at Aquincum (Appendix Two, no. 127); and probably two soldiers at Carnuntum whose rank is not preserved (Appendix Two, nos. 7, 9). The only soldier worshipping Nemesis in a games context other than an amphitheater outside a camp is the *beneficiarius consularis* whose altar was discovered at the theater of Chersonesos (Appendix Two, no. 280).

Several types of government personnel are represented. There are the highest of the local officials in the Latin-speaking *municipia*, the *duoviri quinquennales*, at Lepcis Magna (Appendix Two, no. 159), Sarmizegetusa (Appendix Two, no. 193), and Aquincum (Appendix Two, no. 114, and probably Appendix Two, nos. 113, 121). These officials served as substitutes every fifth year for the ordinary *duoviri* who normally were the two chief magistrates of the town, responsible for justice, local militias, games, sacrifices, and the upkeep of buildings (Arnold 1914, 247-61; Castrén 1975, 64-66). The *quinquennales* had the added responsibility of conducting a census and looking after revenues (Arnold 1914, 247-61; Castrén 1975, 66). In addition, the highest of local magistrates in some towns in the East are represented at Stratonikeia, the *stratēgoi* (Appendix Two, no. 273).

A member of the local senate, a decurion, is likely a worshipper of Nemesis at Sarmizegetusa (Appendix Two, no. 192). Other officials who worship Nemesis at the games are involved in the imperial cult, a *sacerdos* of the town of Italica, a *sacerdos* of the entire province of Pannonia Superior at Savaria, an *archieros* at Salamis, and three *augustales* at Stobi (Appendix Two, nos. 132, 46, 161). At Carnuntum the collective citizen body made the offering (Appendix Two, no. 20), and at Ephesos it was undertaken by the city itself (Appendix Two, no. 239).

Among the other devotees of Nemesis in games contexts whose status we are able to ascertain, there is a priest of Nemesis at Athens (Appendix

Two, no. 71). There are also one of the leaders of a *collegium fabrorum* and probably other members of the same college at Sarmizegetusa (Appendix Two, nos. 190, 196), and probably two patroni of their cities, one at Sarmizegetusa and the other at Italica (Appendix Two, nos. 195, 217). There are three individuals whose profession is unknown but who were probably freeborn because of their use of a filiation formula or patronymic, one at Merida (Appendix Two, no. 215), one at Thasos (Appendix Two, no. 105), and the other at Side (Appendix Two, no. 260). There are three and perhaps four instances of probable slaves, one from Italica, two from Sarmizegetusa, one from Thasos (Appendix Two, nos. 219, 194, 189, 107), so identified because of their single names. If G. Stertinius Orpex at Ephesos (Appendix Two, no. 240) can be considered a worshipper of Nemesis we have one certain freedman. Finally, there are two persons, one from Venafrum and one from Italica, who were perhaps freedmen because of their Greek cognomina (Appendix Two, nos. 154, 216).

The largest block of Nemesis worshippers at the games, as many as nineteen (or at least thirteen) cannot have their status defined and are thus to be considered as incerti. This is also true for close to a quarter of Nemesis devotees in total (Tables 1 & 2). These individuals all bear either dua or tria nomina and as such cannot be regarded as slaves, nor do their names clearly reveal a freedman's status. Their presence at the arena can hardly serve for identification as participants in the games, since, as we have seen, "ordinary" civilians, like members of the *collegium fabrorum*, can worship the goddess at the games. Further, because they are probably freeborn, the incerti are even less likely to have been games combatants since most gladiators, at least, were slaves (Ville 1981, 240, 255).

TYPES OF WORSHIP

The motivations for making an offering to Nemesis at the arena are not easy to discern. It would seem logical that participants in the games were seeking the goddess' protection and support in their battles or hoping to avert her wrath. Two reliefs associated with such dedications, the ones from Flavia Solva (Plate XXVII) and Aphrodisias (Robert 1940, 170, no. 156), depict Victory in association with Nemesis, and may thus be seen as indicators of the concern of the participants. One inscription, that of the *retiarius* at Halikarnassos (Appendix Two, no. 241), is a thank-offering. One may assume that it was the result of victory and/or survival in the combats of the arena, but it is equally possible that it may have been gratitude for some other deed by the goddess. One simply cannot be certain.

Only one of the texts associated with a participant, that on the Verona funerary monument (Appendix Two, no. 155), gives any notion of the specific rationale behind the worship of Nemesis. In this instance the goddess had apparently been sought in order to prevent the astrologically set death date of the gladiator (Robert 1940, 307, note 1), a concern independent of the games.

Public officials have been suggested to have sought the goddess because they were offering games and wished them to be a success (Canto 1984, 190). It is true that, in all but two cases, the officials who worshipped Nemesis in games contexts were certainly among those who served as *munerarii*, the *duoviri* (Ville 1981, 175-88) and the priesthoods of the local imperial cult (Ville 1981, 188-93; Robert 1940, 270-75). Of the two other instances, the incomplete nature of one inscription (Appendix Two, no. 192) makes it impossible to ascertain whether the member of the local senate at Sarmizegetusa was holding an office like *duovir*. In the other case (Appendix Two, no. 273), the *stratēgoi* at Stratonikeia may have offered the games as the chief magistrates of that city (Robert 1940, 268-69). The inscriptions themselves, however, yield little confirmation of Canto's theory. The dedication from Stobi (Appendix Two, no. 161) by the *augustales* is explicitly for the emperor and the city, not for the dedicants themselves. The offering (Appendix Two, no. 114) from the civilian amphitheater at Aquincum by a priest, on behalf of the two *duoviri quinquennales* for the year 259 A.C., specifies the motive as the honor and favor bestowed upon them ("honoribus et favoribus") by the goddess. It is by no means clear, however, that these benefits are directly related to the games.

In general, as a quick glance at Tables 5 & 6 will show, the motivations for making a dedication to Nemesis at the arena do not seem to have been very different from those in contexts which cannot be associated with the games, and in both cases these motivations are usually impossible to pinpoint. Most of the dedications collected here consist of standard formulae which tell us no more than that the dedicant was fulfilling a vow made to the goddess (*votum solvit libens merito, ex voto, votum demisit, votum posuit, votum libens solvit, votum animo libens solvit, animo libens votum solvit, euchēn*, etc.) or that he or she dedicated, set up or made the offering or shrine (*anethēken, libens posuit, fecit, epoiēsen*) (see Tables 5 & 6). Exactly what the goddess did for these dedicants remains beyond our ken.

A few are more elucidating. Certainly four, and probably as many as seven offerings are made "pro salute", for the well being or health, either of the dedicant and his family or of some other person. One, from the military amphitheater at Carnuntum (Appendix Two, no. 5), and probably three others, from the same building at Carnuntum, Sarmizegetusa, and likely the civilian amphitheater at Aquincum (Appendix Two, nos. 4, 197, 113), are made for the well being of the emperor. The other three include one from Tarragona which may have been for the well being of the governor of Hispania Tarraconensis (Appendix Two, no. 227), one from Chersonesos for the dedicant and his children (Appendix Two, no. 280), and one from Sarmizegetusa for the brother of the dedicant (Appendix Two, no. 189). No doubt related is the dedication from Italica for Flavius Successus by Gaius Flavius Firmus, probably a relative (Appendix Two, no. 224).

If "health" or "well-being" is a somewhat vague rationale, hardly more specific are the tantalizing instances in which the offering is made *ex visu* (Appendix Two, nos. 29, 200, and probably 138), *ex iussu* (Appendix Two, no. 45, and probably 4), and *kata epitagēn* (Appendix Two, no. 162). It seems that Nemesis had appeared to several dedicants or that a command from an oracle had been involved in the dedication. One might recall that an oracle of Apollo at Didyma, already discussed, recommended the worship of Nemesis to a bull trainer/acrobat. It appears that at Stobi (Appendix Two, no. 162) the motivation for the worship of Nemesis was similar, although we have no idea of the profession of the dedicant, and that perhaps the "command" mentioned by a soldier at the military amphitheater at Carnuntum (Appendix Two, no. 4) and in the inscription from Salona (Appendix Two, no. 45) may be regarded as also indicating the instructions of an oracle.

We have the testimony of Artemidorus (*Oneirocritica* 2.37) that the appearance of Nemesis in dreams bodes well for the person who lives according to the law, the philosopher and those of moderate means but ill for those who transgress the law and those beginning an important undertaking. In the case of the *ex visu* dedications, from Chester and Sarmizegetusa (Appendix Two, nos. 29, 200), perhaps the concern lies in the beginning of important affairs.

The motivations are a little more specific in a few instances. The same inscription from Sarmizegetusa for the well being of the dedicant's brother specifies that the goddess had liberated him from danger ("periculo liberavit"). The *defixio* from Caerleon (Appendix Two, no. 28) may be an attempt to bring Nemesis down upon a person who had stolen a cloak and boots from the dedicant. The veteran at Carnuntum made his dedication (Appendix Two, no. 8), if the interpretation of the abbreviations is correct, "having obtained an honorable discharge". Although we cannot be certain of the precise relationship between his discharge and his vow, perhaps his motivation was gratitude for a successful military career.

It therefore appears that, even in the cases of participants in the arena and *munerarii*, we are largely unable from the dedications themselves to discover how far the motivations for the offering relate to the games. The aid of the goddess need not, in some instances at least, have been invoked for a problem having any direct link with the activities of the arena. This is supported by the lack of substantial difference between the votive formulae used within and outside of the arena. This is likely true especially of that majority of dedicants (the incerti) whose inscriptions bear no evidence of public office and whose status, as evidenced by their names, appears unlikely to have been that of arena participants, thereby indicating that they had no direct stake in the games.

The offerings themselves normally consist of votive altars or statues. Evidence of sacrifice can be seen in two instances. There is a small patch of burning in the *sacellum* at Chester (Thompson, Sunter & Weaver 1975, 168, fig. 14), and the *retiarius* dedication from Halikarnassos (Appendix Two, no. 241) mentions the offering of a pig as well as the gladiator's cloak and earrings. Sacrifices are certainly plausible elsewhere since a priest of the goddess is evident at Aquincum and Philippi (Appendix Two, nos. 114, 84-86).

A form of dedication to Nemesis unique to the amphitheater at Italica is represented by inscriptions accompanied by incised feet or foot prints, the *vestigia*. The most commonly accepted explanation for the meaning of the *vestigia* is that, particularly when set in a temple or associated with dedicatory inscriptions, they signify either the perpetual place of the dedicant in the presence of the deity or the presence of the deity itself (Dunbabin 1990, 86-90 and bibliography). It is not entirely clear which is meant in the Italica examples. Some footprints point towards the reader of the inscription, presumably indicating the deity, some away, perhaps denoting the dedicant; some suggest the use of footwear, some are barefoot; and some are composed of single pairs, some of two or three pairs pointing in opposite directions. This last feature possibly indicates not only the presence of the dedicant before the deity but also the hope for divine protection when away from the divine presence (Dunbabin 1990, 91). Another possibility is that prints facing in two directions may convey the idea that the goddess was felt to be all about the worshipper in the entrance corridor of the amphitheater. Whether the prints at Italica are seen as divine or human, they are indicative of a strong feeling that the entrance hall itself, and perhaps the entire building, was a place where Nemesis was especially present, a Nemesis sanctuary. Canto's (1984, 190) suggestions, that the prints denote the wish for successful discharge of magisterial duties at the games and that the two-directional prints in particular indicate a prayer for entering and leaving the amphitheater on "good feet", need not be accepted (as indeed they are not by Dunbabin 1990, 91, note 31). Not all of the dedicants can be indubitably assigned a magisterial function or clearly connected with sponsoring the games held at the amphitheater, and the idea of protection coming and going, if that is how we interpret the two-directional prints, need not denote the amphitheater in general so much as the sanctuary of Nemesis in particular which the entrance hall had become.

Five inscriptions give the precise day on which the dedication was made. Two from the civilian amphitheater at Aquincum (Appendix Two, nos. 114-115) give the dates of the fifth day before the kalends of July (June 27), and the twelfth day before the kalends of September (August 21). One probably originally from the same place (Appendix Two, no. 113) supplies a date of the eighth day before the kalends of July (June 24). One from Sarmizegetusa (Appendix Two, no. 198) gives the date of the ides of June (June 13), and one from the military amphitheater at Carnuntum (Appendix Two, no. 9) gives the date of the day before the kalends of August (July 31).

It is extremely tempting to assign the choice of these dates some particular significance relative to Nemesis and the arena. It has been suggested (*CIL* III.10439), for example, that the link between Nemesis and Tyche/Fortuna, noted already in the discussion of iconography, is further confirmed by the choice of June 24, the festival of Fors Fortuna in Rome (Scullard 1981, 155-56), for the restoration of the Nemesis shrine at Aquincum. Maybe also of significance is the choice of August 21, the day of the Consualia festival at Rome which involved horse and chariot races (Scullard 1981, 177-78), although, as we have seen, the connection of Nemesis with the circus is quite tenuous. Perhaps too much can be made of the choice of these dates. After all, June 27, a festival of the Lares and of Jupiter Stator (Scullard 1981, 156-57), has no connection with Nemesis or any related goddess nor does it appear to have some special association with games. Similarly, the date of June 13 may be associated with a temple of Jupiter Invictus, and was the start of the Greater Quinquatrus, a festival of the tibicines (Scullard 1981, 152-53). Finally, July 31 appears to have had no place in the festal calender (Scullard 1981, 169).

ANALYSIS

We must now attempt to explain why Nemesis is connected with competitions, particularly the Roman *munus*, *venatio*, and those of the *iuvenes*. Our survey of the motivations for worshipping Nemesis in such contexts has disclosed the difficulties in attempting to find a direct relevance of the games for the dedicants. Therefore, the answer must be sought by viewing competitions as a context which particularly displays the power of the goddess, and thereby one suitable for her worship regardless of particular motivation. Several explanations have been adduced by other scholars. Von Premerstein (1894, 402) believed that the reason lies initially in the association of Nemesis and Tyche, in the importance of chance in competitive events. This idea certainly has its advantages. As already discussed in the previous chapter, the relationship between Nemesis and Tyche is a old one, extending back at least as far as the fourth century B.C. (Appendix Two, no. 79). In addition, the theory would account for the association of the two goddesses in the civil amphitheater at Carnuntum (Appendix Two, nos. 19-20) as well as the iconographic assimilation of the two goddesses in the statues from the theater at Ephesos and the stadion at Olympia. However, the connection in games contexts may not be mainly between Nemesis and a generalized goddess of chance but between Nemesis and the city Tyche/Fortuna. This appears to be the case at Carnuntum, where the Fortuna of the city is being worshipped with Nemesis at the amphitheater, and may also be possible at Ephesos if one reads the damaged *polos* or *kalathos* on the head of the statue as a turreted crown.

Volkmann (1928, 320-21) suggested that the rationale lies in the idea of Nemesis as judge in the competitions, deciding who was to be victorious and who defeated. This would account for the iconographic connections between Nemesis and Dike at games sites (see above), and the worship of Nemesis as "paredros of Dike" by an arbiter of contests at Miletos (Appendix Two, no. 250) (although as a judge, his devotions need have nothing to do with games per se, as pointed out earlier). It has also been suggested that Nemesis is particularly appropriate to competition because her power would be clearly manifest in the downfall of those who were too successful or too confident (Thompson, Sunter, Weaver 1976, 169; Coulton, Milner, Reyes 1988, 130). This hypothesis has its merits as well. Nemesis as enemy of the prosperous is said to be a popular conception in a fragment of the second century A.C. Epicurean philosopher Diogenes of Oenoanda (Appendix Two, no. 253). For Nemesis as a foe of the successful in the agon itself one might cite the passage in Plutarch (*Philopoimen* 18.1) mentioned earlier, if one interprets it as evidence for the customary activity of Nemesis in competitive events. Further, the oracular text on the hematite (Appendix Two, no. 62) which was discussed above, if it really refers to the theater, suggests a concern of Nemesis for the character of the competitor.

All three of these theories are subject, however, to one quite damaging criticism. If Nemesis were connected with the games because of the manifestation of her power in chance, in the judgement for victory or defeat, or in the punishing of the boastful and overly successful we would expect that the goddess would be widely revered in all competitive contexts, in drama, in Greek athletic events, and in the circus, as well as in the arena. However, as we have seen, this is not the case. A special, primary, almost exclusive, relationship exists between the goddess and the contests of the Roman arena. A solution must accordingly be sought in something peculiar to these events which would manifest the power of Nemesis.

The special significance of Nemesis for the Roman games is explained by Von Premerstein (1894, 407-408) through the syncretism of Nemesis with Artemis/Diana, patroness, with Mars, of the arena (Tertullian, *De Spectaculis* 12). As discussed above, Nemesis is indeed connected in games contexts with Diana both in the epigraphic (Appendix Two, nos. 8, 114) and the iconographic evidence (Plates XXIV-XXV).[19] It seems likely, however, that the association can be extended beyond the arena. The altar from Köln-Deutz (Appendix Two, no. 65), as mentioned earlier, was uncovered in secondary usage and was probably by a soldier, not a gladiator. The dedication from Bonn (Appendix Two, no. 64) by a legionary architect, also referred to above, was similarly not found in its original context. Unfortunately, we simply have no way of knowing whether they originated in the amphitheaters. Likewise, possible evidence that Nemesis was associated with the hunt independently of the arena can be seen in the dedication to Ephesian Artemis by the Nemesian Hunters at Aquileia (Appendix Two, no. 143), and in an altar to Nemesis of uncertain provenience from Aquileia (Appendix Two, no. 138) which bears reliefs of dogs dragging down a hare and a stag; but venatorial associations can certainly not be discounted, especially since the dedicant of the latter is a public official, a sexvir. Finally, there is the mid-second century A.C. inscription from the Triopeion outside Rome which calls Nemesis "Rhamnousian Oupis" (Appendix Two, no. 153). Since, as we saw in the first chapter, this is an ancient title of Artemis, this is probably the clearest evidence for an association between the two goddesses outside the arena.

Whatever is the case, Nemesis and Diana are certainly connected in the arena. However, one must question whether this relationship is a cause of the presence of Nemesis there or merely the result of a syncretism between two deities for whom the arena was a sphere of operation. The latter seems more likely. First, as discussed in the first chapter, there is only weak evidence for a connection between the two goddesses prior to the Roman data, the earliest of which can be dated to the first decade of the second century A.C. (Appendix Two, no. 64). This postdates the earliest evidence for a connection between Nemesis and the games. Second, there is a significant difference between the two goddesses in the arena. Nemesis was worshipped by both *venatores* and gladiators, but there is no evidence that

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[19] The suggestion by Foucher (1974, 192,) that all the images of Diana present in North African mosaics depicting of the beasts of the amphitheater actually represent Nemesis-Diana, is not warranted by the few instances of actual association of the two goddesses. That Diana is at home in the *venatio* quite independently of Nemesis is clear from Tertullian (*De Spectaculis* XII).

Diana was revered by gladiators.[20] As one might expect, Diana, as goddess of the hunt, had a particular relationship with the *venatio* and the amateur hunts of the *iuvenes*, and this is precisely the context in which she and Nemesis are brought together. The broader nature of Nemesis' role in the arena, together with the chronological evidence, probably indicates that the reason for her presence there is entirely independent from that for Diana. Perhaps the association of the goddesses outside the games may even be the result of a syncretism which occurred in the arena.

Another possible explanation for the special relationship of Nemesis to the Roman arena may lay in our only literary reference to that connection. The *Historia Augusta* states that many believe that an emperor would give gladiatorial and venatorial games before setting out on campaign as a ritual (*devotio*) directed against the enemy, so that by the sacrifice of the blood of citizens Nemesis would be satiated (Maximus & Balbinus 8.6.2-7.1). Colin (1954, 149-50) suggests that a possible explanation for the presence of Nemeseia in military amphitheaters is that the gladiators are sacrificed for the protection of the army in combat. Ville (1960, 288) objects to such a theory. The ancient text was probably written in the second half of the fourth century A.C.[21] Because this was a period of intellectual as well as physical conflict between the emerging power of Christianity and the defenders of traditional Graeco-Roman culture, Ville (1960, 288-90) places the passage in the same category with other fourth century texts which assign a religious meaning to the games, and regards the text as a piece of pagan propaganda in which the well known connection of Nemesis with the games is adapted in order to legitimize their continuation.

Ville's hypothesis is supported by several additional points. First, while both the practice of a vicarious sacrifice for the benefit of the army and the name given to the solemn ritual involved, "devotio", are rooted in ancient

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[20] Diana, unlike Nemesis, actually has very few dedications from games contexts. There is the dedication of a *commentariensis* of the ludus Matutinus (*CIL* VI.352), that of the *ursarii* to her and Silvanus (*CIL* XIII.533), and perhaps that of the *bestiarii* and the guard of the *vivarium* (*CIL* VI.130). She was also associated with the iuvenes (Von Premerstein 1894, 414, note 8).

[21] The date and authorship of the *Historia Augusta* is a matter of considerable controversy (for a discussion, see Barnes 1978). The work presents itself as composed by several authors in the late third and early fourth centuries A.C. Ville (1960, 290) is certainly not alone in considering the second half of the fourth century a more plausible date, and more recently it has been persuasively argued that a single author writing as late as 395-99 A.C. may be postulated (Barnes 1978, 17-18).

Roman Republican religion[22], the first is not found in the Imperial period. This fact raises the possibility that the theory cited in the *Historia Augusta* may be nothing more than the literary adaptation of a long defunct ritual. Second, the very idea that it was customary for an emperor to give games at the outset of a war is unique to the *Historia Augusta* (Ville 1981, 46-47, note 124). Third, some of the years of dated dedications to Nemesis found in games contexts (Appendix Two, nos. 4, 8, 9, 113, 114, 166), e.g., 162, 184, 214, can be matched with the start of campaigns; but others (for instance, 199 and 259) fall in the midst of wars and would force us to speculate that the games were given at the outset of each campaign season during a war, something clearly unwarranted by the passage itself; and one date, 187, can only possibly be associated with a campaign.[23]

On the other hand, we should be careful not to discount the passage too readily. First, it should be pointed out that its author notes the *devotio* idea as a theory of others with whom he disagrees. Accordingly, the idea may come from his sources and not necessarily from the late fourth century A.C. Second, the practice of *devotio*, both voluntary and involuntary, continues during the Principate with one's life offered not for the success of the army but for the well-being of the emperor[24], and there is also evidence that the *munus* and *venatio* were sometimes given "pro salute imperatoris", for the well-being of the emperor, at least into the middle of the second century

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[22] Livy (VIII.9-10) describes the practice in detail in the context of the devotio of Decius Mus during the First Samnite War. When a battle was going badly, the military commander could, on behalf of his army, offer his own life or that of a legionary selected by him to the gods of the underworld so that the enemy would be defeated. If the "devoted" person was killed in battle, all would go well. If not, further ritual steps had to be undertaken.

[23] The year 162 marked the second year of the war of Lucius Verus against the Parthians but was also the year in which the Chatti attacked across the Rhine; 184 marks the attack by and repulsion of the Caledonians in Britain; and 214 marks the year in which Caracalla mustered the Danube legions for his Parthian campaign. The year 199 was the second year of the Parthian campaign of Septimius Severus, and in 259 Valerian was still in action against the Sassanians while Gallienus was in the second year of a campaign against the Alamanni. The year 187 has been suggested as the second year of the war against Maternus (Whittaker 1969, 66-67, note 1) or the year of a rebellion in Germany (Magie 1922, 297, note 5), but both are uncertain.

[24] Sextus Pacuvius Taurus offered his life in order for Augustus to be cured of an illness (Dio Cassius LIII.20.2-3), one individual offered his life for the health of Caligula and another offered to fight in the arena (Suetonius, *Caligula* 27; Dio Cassius LIX .8.3), and it has been suggested that almost a century later Antinous gave his life for the well being of Hadrian (Lambert 1984, 134-35). As in the case of a soldier designated by his commander as substitute in the devotio, the vicarious offering in the Imperial era was not always voluntary. Nero, on the advice of his astrologer Balbillus, had nobles executed in order to spare his own death supposedly imminent because of a comet (Suetonius, *Nero* 36).

A.C.[25] Further, the *devotio* for the emperor and the well-being of the emperor brought about by the games may be implicitly linked in the offering by one noble to fight in the arena if Caligula recovered from an illness (Suetonius, *Caligula* 27). Despite the apparently closer relationship of the idea described in the *Historia Augusta* to the Republican military *devotio*, the text does not specify the army as beneficiary of the vicarious sacrifice and, besides, the success of the army means the well being of its commander, the emperor. Therefore, because the *devotio* and games for imperial well-being were undertaken and may have also intersected chronologically with the worship of Nemesis in games contexts, one may leave open a theoretical possibility that Nemesis was associated with the arena because the games were a vicarious sacrifice to her, particularly on behalf of the emperor's success in battle.

In the end, however, we should probably reject this notion, not only on account of the criticisms mentioned above, but especially because of the narrowness of its explanatory power. If the games served as a vicarious sacrifice to Nemesis on behalf of the army and/or its emperor, the devotions of the army and perhaps the public officials are comprehensible, but it is more difficult to explain why those for whom such a sacrifice had little relevance, the ordinary civilians, would worship the goddess at the arena. One might conjecture that the relevance could come from the beneficial effect that the success of the army and its emperor had for all the citizens of the Empire. However, the more personal and immediate tone of the dedications involving concern for the well being of a relative, like the one from Italica (Appendix Two, no. 224), hardly seems to fit such a general motive. This weakness may be contrasted with the broader explanatory value of our stated approach: that there was something about the games which particularly manifested the power of Nemesis, so much so that even persons with no stake in the games and with motivations which had no relationship to the games could worship her in the arena for any purpose, simply because it was a place where her presence was felt to be particularly strong.

Another explanation for the particular connection of Nemesis to the arena may be sought in a fairly obvious difference between the games held there and both the traditional Greek contests and Roman chariot-racing. The former were life and death struggles whereas the latter normally were not. Perhaps competitions with lives at stake were contexts in which Nemesis was more dramatically evident than in issues of mere victory or defeat. In order to substantiate this theory one would first have to establish that during the era in question control over life and death was seen as an important aspect in the character of Nemesis. The epitaph from Verona (Appendix Two, no. 155), already discussed, may be cited in support. If Nemesis had been thought capable of altering the fate set for an individual by his horoscope, she would undoubtedly have been attributed power over life and death. Possibly related is the notion, expressed in the votive stele from Piraeus (Appendix Two, no. 89), that Nemesis governs the axis of the heavenly sphere.

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[25] Dio Cassius (LX.5) tells us that Claudius ordered that games cease to be given for the benefit of the emperor. However, there are announcements of games at Pompeii dating from the reign of Nero and probably from that of Vespasian which stipulate the *causa muneris* as "pro salute imperatoris" (Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980, 47, 42 respectively). At Thessaloniki the same motivation is found in a games announcement dated to 141 A.C. (Robert 1940, 78, no. 11), and perhaps again at Nikopolis in Thrace during the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (Robert 1940, 100, no. 39).

However, the power of Nemesis over an astrologically set fate has a much broader character than that specifically over matters of life and death. It would have encompassed any issue of success and failure, making the goddess equally appropriate in all competitions; which she is not. Moreover, such a conception of Nemesis is not very widespread. It is absent in the literary sources of the period and in other epigraphic evidence. Even more damaging to the theory is, perhaps, the point that, if the life and death character of the games was the main reason that the goddess was associated with the arena, one would expect—even given the decreased likelihood of dedications by persons of the low status and wealth of gladiators and *venatores*—that a much higher proportion of her worshippers at the games (i.e., more than 10 out of 59 or 90) would be found among those for whom her power over life and death would be most directly and immediately significant, the combatants themselves.

I believe that a different explication may be found in another feature peculiar to the *munus*, *venatio* and related contests. During the Imperial period these games seem to have served, among other functions[26], as an exhibition of state power and a reaffirmation of the proper order of imperial society (Hopkins 1983, 11-12, 29; Wells 1984, 277). To be sure, if this interpretation were correct, one might expect that at least one ancient writer would refer to this particular message. This is not the case.

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[26] Among the many other functions of these public spectacles were the inculcation of the military ideals, like a contempt for pain or death and a desire for victory, which were visible to all even in slaves and criminals fighting in the arena (Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* II.17.41; Pliny, *Panegyricus* 33.1), and a measure of control over the population through diversionary entertainment (Juvenal 10.81; Fronto 2.216). They also served as a display of the magnanimous nature of the sponsor, perhaps one reason why Augustus limited the ability of the Roman aristocracy to offer them (Dio Cassius 54.2). Veyne (1990, 398-403) also points to the games as a means for the emperor to show his "popular" tastes and for the audience to make known its views to the emperor.

On the other hand, perhaps we should not be surprised by this omission. Many discussions of the games occur in contexts that do not evaluate them (for example, Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* I.166; *Historia Augusta*, Antoninus Caracalla I.5), and therefore cannot be expected to give us information about their possible societal functions. Several writers have a negative opinion of the games and focus upon the unhealthy impact of them upon their audience or of their audience upon the philosopher (Plutarch, *Moralia* 822C; Seneca, *Epistulae* VII). Since these sources are critical of the games, they would not likely relate any more positive function or message of the arena. Of those sources which give the games a more favorable character or assign them some societal purpose, those which treat them as a dole for the populace (Juvenal 10.81; Fronto, *Epistulae* 2.216) detail the function of the games themselves, not a message presented by the games, and therefore are not particularly relevant. Of the authors who actually attribute a positive message to the games (Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* II.17.41; Pliny, *Panegyricus* 33.1), perhaps Cicero was not familiar with the concept of the games as a manifestation of state power and order because, before the emergence of the Principate, they had not yet acquired such a meaning, while Pliny simply repeats the point which Cicero makes. Then again, perhaps our more positive sources simply neglect to state the obvious.

While the lack of ancient literary testimony for the present theory may remain something of a problem, its plausibility is demonstrated by two characteristics of the gladiatorial and venatorial games. First, most such games were intimately connected with the state, and were held under state auspices. They were given freely by emperors, governors, local magistrates, and priests of the imperial cult (Ville 1981, 200-12). They were also offered as a tax on status by public officials (Ville 1981, 175-88) and municipal and provincial priests of the imperial cult (Robert 1940, 270-75; Ville 1981, 188-93, 212-13; Hopkins 1983, 13). In some instances a local *munerarius* even had to receive imperial or local curial authorization or guidance for his *editio* (Robert 1940, 273-74; Ville 1981, 209-10). Second, many, if not most, of the participants in these games were those who were perceived as enemies of the established order. There were criminals, the *damnati ad bestias* or *noxii*, who received outright execution in the arena (Ville 1981, 235-40). In addition, except for the apparently less common free men who voluntarily pursued a career in the arena, gladiators and possibly *venatores* were drawn from among prisoners of war (at least into the late second century, and perhaps even into the third century A.C.—*Historia Augusta*, Claudius XI.8), criminals (the *damnati ad ludum*), and slaves who at least in theory, if not always in practice, were supposed to be sold into the arena because, like Vitellius' Asiaticus (Suetonius, *Vitellius* XII.2), they were guilty of some insolence or criminal behavior (Ville 1981, 228-46).[27]

Despite the organization of the games and the origin of many of the combatants, one further possible problem has been raised by Barton's (1989) study of the fascination of Roman society with the gladiator. Barton emphasizes the symbolism of both degradation and redemption which the gladiator held for the audience, and the self-identification of the observers with the participants humiliation and glory. She (1989, 33, n. 106) criticizes Ville (1981) for his emphasis on the empowerment of the audience in the games, and for not seeing the romantic attraction of the arena for the freeborn and the allure of the gladiator for women, features which she believes can only be explained if the audience identified with the gladiator. The same criticism could be levelled against the idea expressed here that one symbolism of the arena was the crushing of the enemies of imperial order. Clearly, one could argue, the audience would hardly find much attractive in state enemies. However, while not discounting Barton's theory and while readily accepting the multivalence of the games, I believe that the theory supported here can explain the allure of the arena quite well. The gladiator and his activity in the *munus* were attractive not only for his honor and bravery in the midst of humiliation but as the vehicle for the preservation of state order. While one might detest a gladiator not only because of his debasement but because he may be a criminal, rebellious slave or prisoner of war, one could also admire him because by fighting and defeating other gladiators he was doing a great service to the state, as well as acting bravely.

In the *venatio* and in those instances of related games in which one could not count human enemies of the state among the participants, as in the hunts of the *iuvenes* (Appendix Two, no. 63, and perhaps nos. 84-86, 143, 163) or animal control displays like that undertaken by Appheion Heronas at

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[27] The numbers of freeborn gladiators relative to those of servile origin is a matter of some dispute. When status was ascertainable Robert (1940, 286-287) documented approximately even numbers of free and slave gladiators among the combatants of the Imperial Greek East. He also suggested that because gladiatorial epitaphs indicated that the deceased had enough money to erect a monument and because many of the departed had wives, the majority of these individuals were free. The epitaphs, however, can be a misleading source of evidence because only those wealthier gladiators could afford them in the first place. Also, as Ville (1981, 255, and note 64) points out, the grave inscriptions normally reveal only the gladiator's status at death not his original status. Ville (1981, 254-255), confining his study to the first century A.C., prefers the gladiatorial lists. He cites several from the Western Mediterranean, as well as those published by Robert. From these he concludes that there was a greater majority of slaves (Ville 1981, 240, 254-55). At any rate, even if the freeborn combatants were as numerous as the slaves, this does not negate the games as a context for punishment of insolent slaves, criminals and prisoners of war, both in the outright executions and in the combats.

Miletos (Appendix Two, no. 248), it is likely that the animals themselves served a similar role as the enemy of established order. The symbolic role of the conquest of fierce animals by the emperor in imperial art, both in coinage and public sculpture, has been seen as emphasizing his power over violent natural threats to the safety and security of the civilized world of the Empire (Grant 1985, 98; Boatwright 1987, 200-201). Under the auspices of the state, with the sponsorship of its leaders, the very presence of exotic and fierce animals in the arena must have demonstrated the far-reaching extent of imperial power; and the slaughter or control of these creatures, seen as a conquest by the emperor (Martial V.65) and on rare occasions done even by the imperial guard (Suetonius, *Claudius* 21) or the emperor himself (*Historia Augusta*, Commodus XII.2, XIII.3), must have hammered home more vividly than art both the protection afforded the ordered life of the Empire by the emperor and other public officials, and the fate of any threat to the state.

If one aspect of the *munus-venatio* complex of games was a dramatic display of the fate of those who opposed the established imperial order, the arena would then become a context particularly appropriate for the presence of Nemesis. This is because such a function for the games intersects very well with a view of Nemesis which, unlike the idea of power over life and death, was more traditional, more widely attested, and of special importance with respect to the state during the Imperial period, namely, that of the goddess as punisher of those who merit it and maintainer thereby of that which is proper. Nemesis, as we have seen in the first chapter, was viewed quite early as the maintainer of what is proper in the sphere of divine-human relations and human social relations. Already in Hesiod (*Opera et Dies* 197) she and Aidos (Shame) are moral agents who properly guide human behavior but ultimately leave man to his own wickedness at the onset of the Iron Age. In fifth century B.C. Attic Tragedy, Nemesis punishes those not treating the dead properly (Aeschylus, *Hektoros Lutra* fragment in Stobaeus, *Florilegium* 125.7; Sophocles, *Electra* 792) and those who exhibit arrogance (Sophocles, *Electra* 1466-68; Euripides, *Phoenissae* 183-84). In Plato (*Leges* 717d) she is explicitly connected with Dike for the first time, a notion found again in the Hellenistic (Appendix Two, no. 250) and early Roman Imperial periods when Dike sometimes actually serves as a substitute for Nemesis in accounts of the beginning of the Iron Age (Aratus, *Phainomena* 96-100; Vergil, *Georgica* 2.473-74; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 149-5).

In the later Imperial period the association of Nemesis with Justice continues (Mesomedes, *Hymnus in Nemesin* 2, 18; Aelius Aristides, *Presbeutikos pros Achillea* 436.27-30; Pseudo-Callisthenes, *Historia Alexandri Magni* II.22.15-16; Appendix Two, nos. 110, 145, 244), and her punishment of those who exceed the proper is seen as extending specifically into the realm of the law (Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica* 2.37). Finally, it is particularly significant that, as we have shown in the previous chapter, during the first and early second centuries A.C., at precisely the time when Nemesis was first clearly beginning to be found in games contexts, the goddess was also brought into an association with the emperor, particularly in his triumph over enemies of the state and the peace which that brings, and with the protection of cities.

Nemesis as conqueror of the enemies of the Imperial order would account just as well as the idea of vicarious sacrifice for the importance of the goddess to the military, both within the arena and outside of it (see Tables 1 & 2). It would also explicate the characterization of the goddess as "Invicta" or "Aniketos" just as well as would the idea of her as giver of victory to participants, as we have seen in our discussion of Nemesis epithets. In addition, this theory explains the association of Nemesis with the Tyche/Fortuna as city goddess in the arena contexts at Carnuntum and perhaps at Ephesos. If Nemesis was appropriate for the arena because of her role in dispensing justice against enemies of the state order, her assimilation there to the protecting deity of a city makes perfect sense.

That this theory is perhaps indeed on the right track may be indicated by the relative popularity at games sites of representations of the goddess with the scales, as well as standing upon the fallen, when compared with other attributes and iconographic types which are, outside the arena, ordinarily much more numerous. If, as suggested above, the scales denote a link with legal Aequitas, Iustitia/Dike, or Dikaiosyne, and if the image of trampling the prostrate is fairly safely connected with the emperor and his virtues, we can see in their occurrence and popularity visible expressions of the concept of Nemesis as working in the arena as an ally of the state, justly putting down those who threaten its established order. At the very least, this theory finds further support in that it provides a logical explanation for these iconographic features.

Ultimately, it is this theory, rather than any of the others cited above, which best accounts for the greatest number of features found in the cult of the goddess at the games. Its excellent explanatory power, therefore, forces us to conclude that the main reason for the presence of Nemesis in the arena was that the games held there manifested in a special way her power over those who exceeded what was proper, specifically over those who violated or threatened what was deemed proper within the Roman State.

CONCLUSIONS

In pursuit of the goals set out in the Introduction we have analyzed both the evidence for the associations of Nemesis with the Roman State and her connection with the agon. Two important points emerged from this research. We found first that, contrary to earlier suggestions, few worshippers of Nemesis in the Roman Imperial period came from the lowest economic and social levels of the Roman world, and many were instead drawn from among public officials and military personnel. We also discovered that Nemesis, like many other divine powers, was enlisted in the protection and promotion of the interests of the emperor, the Empire, and, on a local level, some municipal communities.

With respect to the relationship between the goddess and the games, we have found that this association was not as broad as had often been thought, and that theories predicated on the basis of a wider scope of the connection are inadequate. Evidence for the phenomenon which predates the Roman Imperial era is quite tenuous. Similarly, data of that period clearly linking the goddess to competitions other than the *munus*, *venatio*, or related events are minimal. Even if there was some connection with Greek athletic or dramatic competitions, the fact that Nemesis was not worshipped by such athletes or actors, or even by Roman charioteers indicates a special appropriateness of the *munus* and *venatio* for the goddess, as also supported by the predominance of Nemesis evidence at places built or used for such games.

We have also established that the worship of Nemesis at arenas from Britain to Syria was not mainly by the competitors, but by people who seem to have had little to do directly with the games themselves. We, therefore, would regard the presence of her worship at the arena as due primarily to the perception that this was a sphere in which Nemesis was particularly active, and thus was a good place to revere her for whatever concern one might have had. The association of Nemesis with Artemis/Diana which some scholars had suggested was one of the factors in forging the link between Nemesis and the games does in fact exist. However, it seems likely that the two goddesses had already established presences at the games prior to their connection and may have actually become syncretized as a result their originally independent activities in the same place.

The theory which best explains both the composition of Nemesis worshippers at the games and as well as the goddess' special connection to the *munus* and *venatio* is one which views the arena as a place where a confirmation of the established state order was displayed in the slaughter of military enemies, criminals, insolent slaves and wild animals, and which sees Nemesis especially manifest in such a context as maintainer of that order, because of her simultaneous associations with Justice and the Roman State. To be sure, we should not exclude the possibility, even likelihood, that individual worshippers at the arena may have felt the presence of the goddess in other aspects of what occurred there; in particular, participants in the games could have sought the goddess as punisher of the arrogant or overturner of the too successful in order to safeguard their own continued victory. However, we must conclude that the power of Nemesis in the maintenance of state order constituted the major reason for the presence of Nemeseia in so many amphitheaters, and in theaters or stadia used for typically amphitheatrical games.

It is not clear whether the government was directly involved in establishing Nemesis at the games in order to enhance the propaganda value of those games or whether the initiative came from private individuals who recognized in the positive results of such activities the presence of divine power. The effort to establish Nemesis in the sphere of the emperor, a natural outgrowth of the goddess' connections with maintenance of what is proper which helped to promote her as the foe of imperial enemies, may have served to stimulate the idea of the goddess in the arena. It certainly would not have discouraged it.

A final result of the findings presented here has broader implications for the study of religion in the Imperial period. It seems clear that the incorporation of a divinity into service of the state went beyond the physical act of seeking divine aid through sacrifice. It was actively undertaken through iconographic and epigraphic means. These propaganda devices in themselves invoked the aid of the deity in a manner complementary to the sacrificial ritual. They also elevated the activities of the state in the eyes of its inhabitants, investing them with divine sanction. It is of special importance for understanding religious change in the Roman Empire to note that state propaganda can not only reaffirm traditional visions of the divine but might encourage new ways of viewing particular deities, as perhaps in the case of Nemesis and the games.

APPENDIX ONE

CATALOGUE OF LITERARY EVIDENCE

Eighth Century B.C.

Hesiod (c.700 B.C.)
Theogonia 223:
τίκτε δὲ καὶ Νέμεσιν πῆμα θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι
Νὺξ ὀλοή·

Translation (Author):
And deadly Nyx also gave birth to Nemesis a bane to mortal men.

Opera et Dies 200:
ἀθανάτων μετὰ φῦλον ἴτον προλιπόντ᾽ ἀνθρώπους
Αἰδὼς καὶ Νέμεσις· τὰ δὲ λείψεται ἄλγεα λυγρὰ
θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι· κακοῦ δ᾽ οὐκ ἔσσεται ἀλκή.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Evelyn-White, H.G., *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns, and Homerica*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914, 15th Imp., 17):
And then Aidos and Nemesis, with their sweet forms wrapped in white robes, will go from the wide-pathed earth and forsake mankind to join the company of the deathless gods; and bitter sorrows will be left for mortal men, and there will be no help against evil.

Sixth-Fifth Centuries B.C.

Aeschylus (525/4-456 B.C.)
Fragments, *Hektorus Lutra*:
καὶ τοὺς θανόντας εἰ θέλεις εὐεργετεῖν
εἴτ᾽ οὖν κακουργεῖν, ἀμφιδεξίως ἔχει
τῷ μήτε χαίρειν μήτε λυπεῖσθαι φθιτούς.
ἡμῶν γε μέντοι Νέμεσις ἐσθ᾽ ὑπερτέρα,
καὶ τοῦ θανόντος ἡ Δίκη πράσσει κότον.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Smyth, H.W., *Aeschylus, Volume II*, with an Appendix added by H. Lloyd-Jones, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University

Press, 1926, 9th Imp., 473):
And if unto the dead thou art fain to do good, or if thou wouldst work them ill—'tis all one, since they feel not or joy or grief. Nevertheless our (the gods') righteous resentment (Nemesis) is mightier than they, and Justice executeth the dead man's wrath.

Pindar (518-438 B.C.)
Pythia 10.42-45:
νόσοι δ' οὔτε γῆρας οὐλόμενον κέκραται
ἱερᾷ γενεᾷ· πόνων δὲ καὶ μαχᾶν ἄπερ
οἰκέοισι φυγόντες ὑπέρδικον Νέμεσιν.

Translation (Author):
(Concerning thy Hyperboreans:)
And neither sickness nor baneful old age is mixed with that holy race; but, they live free from toil and conflict, having escaped over-just Nemesis.

Fifth Century B.C.
Euripides (c.485-406 B.C.)
Phoenissae 182 (Play datable perhaps to 409 or 407 B.C.):
{Αν.}
ἰώ,
Νέμεσι καὶ Διὸς βαρύβρομοι βρονταί,
κεραυνῶν τε φῶς αἰθαλόεν, σύ τοι
μεγαλαγορίαν ὑπεράνορα κοιμίζεις·

Translation (Author):
O Nemesis and loud-roaring thunders of Zeus,
and blazing light of thunderbolts, you put to sleep excessive boasts.

Fragment (?) in John Stobaeus 362.5:
Εὐριπίδου.
Ὅτ' ἂν ἴδῃς πρὸς ὕψος ᾐρμένον τινὰ
λαμπρῷ τε πλούτῳ καὶ γένει γαυρούμενον,
ὀφρύν τε μείζω τῆς τύχης ἐπῃρκότα,
τούτου ταχεῖαν νέμεσιν εὐθὺς προσδόκα.

Translation (Author):
By Euripides:
Whenever you see someone raised up toward (the) heights,
exulting in bright wealth, and birth,
having gotten more of a swollen head than his fortune (allows),

directly expect his swift retribution.

Sophocles (c.496-406 B.C.)
Electra 792:
{Ελ.}
ἄκουε, Νέμεσι τοῦ θανόντος ἀρτίως.

Translation (Author):
Elektra:
Listen, Nemesis, to the newly dead

Electra 1466-69:
{Αιγ.}
ὦ Ζεῦ, δέδορκα φάσμ' ἄνευ φθόνου μὲν οὐ
πεπτωκός· εἰ δ' ἔπεστι νέμεσις, οὐ λέγω.

Translation (Author):
Aigisthos:
O Zeus, I look upon an apparition having fallen not without envy, but whether there is nemesis I do not say.....

Fifth-Fourth Centuries B.C.
Antimachus (b. c.444 B.C.)
2.52.1-53.1:
cf. Strabo Geographica 13.1.13-17

Isocrates (436-338 B.C.)
Helenae encomium 59.6
ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ὁ κρατῶν πάντων ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν αὑτοῦ δύναμιν ἐνδείκνυται, πρὸς δὲ τὸ κάλλος ταπεινὸς γιγνόμενος ἀξιοῖ πλησιάζειν. Ἀμφιρύωνι μὲν γὰρ εἰκασθεὶς ὡς Ἀλκμήνην ἦλθε, χρυσὸς δὲ ῥυεὶς Δανάῃ συνεγένετο, κύκνος δὲ γενόμενος εἰς τοὺς Νεμέσεως κόλπους κατέφυγε, τούτῳ δὲ πάλιν ὁμοιωθεὶς Λήδαν ἐνύμφευσεν·

Translation (Author):
But Zeus, ruler of all, shows his power in all else, but he deems it worthwhile to approach beauty taking on humble form. For in the likeness of Amphiryon he came to Alkmene, and as a shower of gold he was united with Danae, and having become a swan he took refuge in the bosom of Nemesis, and again in this form he espoused Leda.

Plato (c.429-347 B.C.)
Leges 717d.2-3:
παρὰ δὲ πάντα τὸν βίον ἔχειν τε καὶ ἐσχηκέναι χρὴ πρὸς αὐτοῦ γοωέας εὐφημίαν διαφερόντως, διότι κούφων καὶ πτηνῶν λόγων βαρυτάτη ζημία· πᾶσι γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος τοῖς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐτάχθη Δίκης Νέμεσις ἄγγελος.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Bury, R.G., *Plato, Volume X. The Laws, Books I-VI*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926, 6th Imp., 299):
And all throughout his life he must diligently observe reverence of speech towards his parents above all things, seeing that for light and winged words there is a most heavy penalty,—for over all such matters Nemesis, messenger of Justice, is appointed to keep watch.

Fourth Century B.C.
Aristotle (384-322 B.C.)
Ethica Eudemia 3.7.2.1233b.24-25:
μέσος δὲ τούτων ὁ νεμεσητικός, καὶ ὃ ἐκάλουν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τὴν νέμεσιν, τὸ λυπεῖσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν κακοπραγίαις καὶ εὐπραγίαις, χαίρειν δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀξίαις· διὸ καὶ θεὸν οἴονται εἶναι τὴν νέμεσιν.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Rackham, H., *Aristotle, Volume XX*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935, 7th Imp., 351):
And midway between them (envious and malicious man) is the righteously indignant man, and what the ancients call Righteous Indignation—feeling pain at undeserved adversities and prosperities and pleasure at those deserved; hence the idea that Nemesis is a deity.

Demosthenes (384-322 B.C.)
Orationes 41.11.7-8 (Against Spudias):
τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον εἰσενεγκούσης τῆς ἐμῆς γυναικὸς εἰς τὰ Νεμέσεια τῷ πατρὶ μνᾶν ἀργυρίου καὶ προαναλωσάσης, οὐδὲ ταύτης ἀξιοῖ συμβαλέσθαι τὸ μέρος,

Translation (Author):
And finally, although my wife advanced a mina of silver and expended it on her father's behalf at the Nemeseia, he (defendant) refuses to contribute his share even of this.

Fourth-Third Centuries B.C.
Callimachus (c.310/05-240 B.C.)
Hymni 6.56 (To Demeter):

εἶπεν ὁ παῖς, Νέμεσις δὲ κακὰν ἐγράψατο φωνάν.

Translation (Author):
So the child spoke, and Nemesis recorded his evil speech (and then Demeter gets angry).

Hymni 3.228-32 (To Artemis):
Χησιὰς Ἰμβρασίη πρωτόθρονε, σοὶ δ' Ἀγαμέμνων
πηδάλιον νηὸς σφετέρης ἐγκάτθετο νηῷ
μείλιον ἀπλοΐης, ὅτε οἱ κατέδησας ἀήτας,
Τευκρῶν ἡνίκα νῆες Ἀχαιίδες ἄστεα κήδειν
ἔπλεον ἀμφ' Ἑλένῃ Ῥαμνουσίδι θυμωθεῖσαι.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Mair, A.W., *Callimachus and Lycophron*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921, rev. 1955, 6th Imp., 81):
Lady of Chesion and of Imbrasus, throned in the highest, to thee in thy shrine did Agamemnon dedicate the rudder of his ship, a charm against ill weather, when thou didst bind the winds for him, what time the Achaean ships sailed to vex the cities of the Teucri, wroth for Rhamnusian Helen.

Fragment 687:
[Taken as refering to Nemesis]
...δαῖμον, τῇ κόλποισιν ἐπιπτίοισι γυναῖκες.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Trypanis, C.A., *Callimachus' Aetia, Iambi, Hecale and other Fragments*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958, 5th Imp., 280-81):
...goddess, for whom the women spit on their bosoms.

Menander (c.342-292 B.C.)
Fragment 39.321.1-2:
Ἀδράστεια καὶ
θεὰ σκυθρωπὲ Νέμεσι, συγγινώσκετε.

Translation (Author):
O Adrasteia and O sullen goddess Nemesis, forgive.

Fragment 42.519-20:
Νέος πεφυκὼς πολλὰ χρηστὰ μάνθανε.
Νέμεσιν φυλάσσου, μηδὲν ὑπέρογκον ποίει.

Translation (Author):
Since you are young learn many good things.
Watch out for Nemesis, do nothing overmuch.

Fragment 45.266.1-2:
ʼΑδράστεια καὶ
θεὰ σκυθρωπὲ Νέμεσι, συγγινώσκετε.

Translation (Author):
O Adrasteia and O sullen goddess Nemesis, forgive.

Fragment 47.Mono.1.374:
Νέος πεφυκὼς πολλὰ χρηστὰ μάνθανε.
Νέμεσιν φυλάσσου μηδὲν ὑπέρφρονῶν.

Translation (Author):
Since you are young learn many good things.
Watch out for Nemesis, be not overproud.

Fragment 48.4.12:
Ξένος ὢν ἀκ<ο>λούθ<ε>ι τα[ῖ]ς ἐθισ[οῖς τῶν ξένων.
Νέμεσιν φυλάσσου, μηδὲν ὑ[π]έ[ρογκον ποίει.

Translation (Author):
Since you are a foreigner follow the customs of foreigners.
Watch out for Nemesis, do nothing overmuch.

Third Century B.C.

Cercidas (c.290-220 B.C.)

1.4.43-50:
Λῷον μεθέμεν περὶ τούτων
τοῖς μετεωροκόποις,
τούτους γὰρ ἔργον οὐδὲ ἓν ἔλπομ' ἔχην·
ἆμιν δὲ Παιὰν καὶ Μετάδως μελέτω,
θεὸς γὰρ αὔτα, καὶ Νέμεσις κατὰ γᾶν.
Μέσφ' οὖν ὁ δαίμων οὔρια φυσιάει
τιμᾶτε ταύταν φῶ[τες]· ε
[ ]
]τ̣ᾶξαν
τ[ ]
σητον ὄλ[β]
]τύχας

ταῦτ' ἐ[στὶν ὖ]μιν νείοθεν ἐξεμέσαι.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Knox, A.D., *Herodes, Cercidas and the Greek Choliambic Poets (Except Callimachus and Babrius)*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929, 199-201):

Fit talk for astrologers truly;
Let us refer it to them:
For them to settle
It will be the slightest of tasks;
To us is Paean
Good, and fair-dealing is good—
A very goddess—
Nemesis too, upon earth:
What time the godhead
Blows in our favour astern,
Hold her in honor,
Mortals: though bravely they fare,
A sudden tempest
Swooping down from other airt
Sinks to perdition
Puffed-up wealth or fortunes proud:
And who can youward
Vomit them back from the deep ?

Third-Second Centuries B.C.
Eratosthenes (c.275-194 B.C.)
Catasterismoi 142:
ἀυτὸν (Zeus) ὁμοιωθέντα τῷ ὀρνέῳ καταπτῆναι εἰς Ῥαμνοῦντα τῆς Ἀττικῆς, κἀκεῖ τὴν Νέμεσιν φθεῖραι, τὴν δὲ τεκεῖν ᾠόν, ἐξ οὗ ἐκκολαφθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι τὴν Ἑλένην, ὥς φησι Κρατῖνος ὁ ποιητής.

Translation (Author):
Zeus having changed into a bird, flew to Rhamnous in Attica, where he had intercourse with Nemesis, who bore an egg, from which Helen emerged and was born, so Kratinos the poet says.

Second Century B.C.
Apollodorus (c. 180 -120/10 B.C.)
Bibliotheca 3.126.8-127.1-3:
λέγουσι δὲ ἔνιοι Νεμέσεως Ἑλένην εἶναι καὶ Διός. ταύτην γὰρ τὴν Διὸς φεύγουσαν συνουσίαν εἰς χῆνα τὴν μορφὴν μεταβαλεῖν, ὁμοιωθέντα δὲ καὶ Δία

κύκνῳ συνελθεῖν· τὴν δὲ ᾠὸν ἐκ τῆς συνουσίας ἀποτεκεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄλσεσιν εὑρόντα τινὰ ποιμένα Λήδᾳ κομίσαντα δοῦναι, τὴν δὲ καταθεμένην εἰς λάρνακα φυλάσσειν, καὶ χρόνῳ καθήκοντι γεννηθεῖσαν Ἑλένην ὡς ἐξ αὑτῆς θυγατέρα τρέφειν.

Translation (Author):
But some say that Helen is the daughter of Nemesis and Zeus. For she, fleeing intercourse with Zeus, changed herself into a goose, but Zeus, taking the form of a swan, had intercourse with her; and from their union she laid an egg, and a certain shepherd found it in the groves, and bringing it, gave it to Leda; and placing it in a chest, she guarded it; and at the appropriate time Helen was born, whom she (Leda) raised as her own daughter.

Second-First Centuries B.C.

Meleager (c.140-70 B.C.)
Anthologia Graeca Book XII.33:

Ἦν καλὸς Ἡράκλειτος, ὅτ' ἦν ποτέ· νῦν δὲ παρ' ἥβην
   κηρύσσει πόλεμον δέρρις ὀπισθοβάταις.
ἀλλά, Πολυξενίδη, τάδ' ὁρῶν, μὴ γαῦρα φρυάσσου·
   ἔστι καὶ ἐν γλουτοῖς φυομένη Νέμεσις.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume IV*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918, rev. 1971, 8th Imp., 297):
Heraclitus was fair, when there was a Heraclitus, but now that his prime is past, a screen of hide declares war on those who would scale the fortress. But, son of Polyxenus, seeing this, be not insolently haughty. It is not only on the cheeks that Nemesis grows.

Anthologia Graeca Book XII.141:

Ἐφθέγζω, ναὶ Κύπριν, ἃ μὴ θεός, ὦ μέγα τολμᾶν
   θυμὲ μαθών· Θήρων σοὶ καλὸς οὐκ ἐφάνη·
σοὶ καλὸς οὐκ ἐφάνη Θήρων· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὑπέστης,
   οὐδὲ Διὸς πτήξας πῦρ τὸ κεραυνοβόλον.
τοιγάρ, ἰδού, τὸν πρόσθε λάλον προὔθηκεν ἰδέσθαι
   δεῖγμα θρασυστομίης ἡ βαρύφρων Νέμεσις.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume IV*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918, rev. 1971, 8th Imp., 355):

By Cypris, thou hast spoken what not even a god might, O spirit, who hast learnt to be too daring. Theron seemed not fair to thee. He seemed not fair to thee, Theron. But thou thyself hast brought it on thee, not dreading even the fiery bolts of Zeus. Wherefore, lo! indignant Nemesis hath exposed thee, once so voluble, to be gazed at, as an example of an unguarded tongue.

First Century B.C.
Catullus (c.84-54 B.C.)
C.50.18-21:
nunc audex cave sis, precesque nostras
  oramus, cave despuas, ocelle,
ne poenas Nemesis reposcat a te.
  est vemens dea: laedere hanc caveto.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Cornish, F.W., *The Poems of Gaius Valerius Catullus*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913, rev. 1950, 1962, 18th Imp., 58-9):
Now be not too proud, and do not, I pray you, apple of my eye, do not reject my prayers, lest Nemesis demand penalties from you in turn. She is an imperious goddess—beware of offending her.

C.64.392-93:
Saepe in letifero belli certamine Mavors
  aut rapidi Tritonis era aut Rhamnusia virgo
armatas hominumst praesens hortata catervas.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Cornish, F.W., *The Poems of Gaius Valerius Catullus*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913, rev. 1950, 1962, 18th Imp., 125):
Often in the death-bearing strife of war Mavors or the Lady of swift Triton or the Rhamnusian Virgin by their presence stirred up the courage of men.

C.66.69-78:
sed quamquam me nocte premunt uestigia divum
  lux autem canae Tethyi restitut,
(pace tua fari hic liceat, Rhanusia uirgo,
  namque ego non ullo uera timore tegam,
nec si me infestis discerent sidera dictis
  condita quin veri pectoris euoluem):
non tis tam laetor rebus, quam me afore semper,

afore me a dominae uerice discrucior
quicum ego, dum uirgo quondam fuit, omnibus expers
unguentis, una milia multa bibi.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Cornish, F.W., *The Poems of Gaius Valerius Catullus*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913, rev. 1950, 1962, 18th Imp., 132-33):
But though at night the footsteps of the gods press close upon me, whilst by day I am resored to gray Tethys (under thy sufferance let me speak this, O Virgin of Rhamnus; no fear shall make me hide the truth, no, not even though the stars shall rend me with angry words will I refrain from uttering the secrets of a true heart), I do not so much rejoice in this good fortune, as grieve that parted, ever parted must I be from the head of my lady; with whom of old, while she was still a virgin, delighting herself with all kinds of perfumes, I drank many thousands.

C.68.79:
nil mihi tam valde placeat, Rhamnusia virgo,
quod temere invitis suscipiatur eris

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Cornish, F.W., *The Poems of Gaius Valerius Catullus*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913, rev. 1950, 1962, 18th Imp., 144-45):
Lady of Rhamnus, never may that please me which is undertaken amiss without the will of our lords.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis (came to Rome c.30 B.C., died ?)
Antiquitates Romanae 2.75.2.1-2:
Δίκην μὲν γὰρ καὶ Θέμιν καὶ Νέμεσιν καὶ τὰς καλουμένας παρ' Ἕλλησιν Ἐρινύας καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια ὑπὸ τῶν προτέρων ἀποχρῶντως ἐκτεθειῶσθαί τε καὶ καθωσιῶσθαι ἐνόμισε...

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Cary, E., *Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Volume I*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937, 5th Imp., 535):
For he (Numa) felt that Justice, Themis, Nemesis, and those the Greeks call Erinyes, with other concepts of the kind, had been sufficiently revered and worshipped as gods by men of former times...

Parmenion (First Century B.C.)
Anthologia Graeca Book XVI.222:

Εἰς τὸ αὐτό
Μήδοις ἐλπισθεῖσα τροπαιοφόρος λίθος εἶναι,
ἠλλάχθην μορφὴν καίριον εἰς Νέμεσιν,
ἔνδικος ἱδρυνθεῖσα θεὰ Ῥαμνοῦντος ἐπ' ὄχθαις
νίκης καὶ σοφίης Ἀτθίδι μαρτύριον.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume V*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918, 6th Imp., 293):

On the Same
I, the stone of whom the Medes hoped to make a trophy, was changed opportunely to the form of Nemesis, the goddess justly planted on the shore of Rhamnus to be a witness to the Attic land of victory and the skill of her artist.

First Century B.C.-First Century A.C.

Antiphilus of Byzantium (First Century B.C.-First Century A.C.)
Anthologia Graeca Book VII.630:

Ἤδη που πάτρης πελάσας σχεδόν, “Αὔριον”, εἶπον,
“ἡ μακρὴ κατ’ ἐμοῦ δυσπλοίη κοπάσει.”
οὔπω χεῖλος ἔμυσε, καὶ ἦν ἴσος Ἄϊδι πόντος,
καί με κατέτρυχεν κεῖνο τὸ κοῦφον ἔπος.
πάντα λόγον πεφύλαξο τὸν αὔριον· οὐδὲ τὰ μικρὰ
λήθει τὴν γλώσσης ἀντίπαλον Νέμεσιν.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume II*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917, 7th Imp., 337):
Now nearing my country I said, “To-morrow shall this wind that blew so long against me abate.” Scarce had I closed my lips when the sea became like hell, and that light word I spoke was my destruction. Beware ever of that word “to-morrow”; not even little things are unnoticed by the Nemesis that is the foe of our tongues.

Diodorus (First Century B.C.-First Century A.C.)
Anthologia Graeca Book IX.405:

Ἀδρήστειά σε δῖα, καί ἰχναίη σε φυλάσσοι
παρθένος, ἡ πολλοὺς ψευσαμένη, Νέμεσις.
δείδια σόν τε φυῆς ἐρατὸν τύπον, ἠδὲ σά, κοῦρε,
δήνεα, θεσπεσίης καὶ μένος ἠνορέης,

καὶ σοφίην, καὶ μῆτιν ἐπίφρονα. τοιάδε τέκνα,
  Δροῦσε, πέλειν μακάρων πευθόμεθ' ἀθανάτων.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume III*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917, 7th Imp., 225):
May holy Adrasteia preserve thee, and Nemesis, the maiden who treadeth in our track, she who has cheated many. I fear for thy body's lovely form, O youth; for thy mental gifts and the strength of thy divine courage, for thy learning and thy prudent counsel. Such we are told, Drusus, are the children of the blessed immortals.

Hyginus (c.64 B.C.-17 A.C.)
de Astronomica II.8:
Olor. Hunc cygnum Graeci appellant; quem complures, propter ignotam illis historiam, communi genere auium ὄρνιν appellauerunt. De quo haec memoriae prodita est causa: Iuppiter, cum amore insecum concumberet impetrare potuisset, hac cogitatione amore est liberatus. Iubet enim Venerem aquilae simulatam se segui; ipse in olorem conuersus ut aquilam fugiens ad Nemesin confugit et in eius gremio se conlocauit. Quem Nemesis non aspernata, amplexum tenens somno est consopita; quam dormientem Iuppiter compressit. Ipse autem auolauit, et quod ab hominibus alte uolans caelo uidebatur, inter sidera dictus est esse sonstitutus. Quod ne falsum diceretur, Iuppiter e facto eum uolantem et aquilam sequentem conlorauit in mundo. Nemesis autem, ut quae auium generi esset iuncta, mensibus actis, ouum procreauit. Quod Mercurius auferens detulit Spartam et Ledae sedenti in gremium proiecit; ex quo nascitur Helena, ceteras specie corporis praestans, quam Leda suam filiam nominauit. Alii autem cum Leda Iouem concubuisse in olorem conuersum dixerunti de quo in medio reliquemus.

Translation (Author):
The Swan (constellation) acquires its name from the Greeks; however, in ignorance of its story, it is commonly called "bird", the generic term for any winged creature. Here, back to the subject, is the traditional explanation: Jupiter, desiring to have intercourse with (his) beloved was able to achieve (it); with this strategem his passion was satisfied. He decreed, namely, that Venus, taking on the appearance of an eagle, pursue him; while he himself, having become a swan and fleeing the eagle, took refuge with Nemesis and installed himself at her bosom. Nemesis, not expelling him, enveloped him in her wings, and fell asleep; while she slept Jupiter embraced her. Afterwards, her flew away, and because he was seen by men soaring high in

the heavens, he has been established among the constellations. So that a falsehood should not be uttered, Jupiter placed it (the Swan) flying in the heavens and the eagle in pursuit. With regard to Nemesis, because of her union with the winged species, at a later date, she laid an egg. (An egg) which Mercury, taking away, carried to Sparta in order to place it at the breast of Leda, and from which Helen was born, who in bodily beauty surpasses all others, and whom Leda named as her own daughter. But according to other sources, it was Leda who was bedded by Jupiter in the form of a swan; we shall leave this undecided.

Fabularum Liber 1.1-5:
Ex Caligine Chaos: ex Chao et Caligine Nox Dies Erebus Aether. ex Nocte et Erebo Fatum Senectus Mors Letum Continentia Somnus Somnia <Amor> id est Lysimeles, Epiphron dumiles Porphyrion Epaphus Discordia Miseria Petulantia Nemesis Euphrosyne Amicitia Misericordia Styx; Parcae tres, id est Clotho Lachesis Atropos; Hesperides, Aegle Hesperie aerica.

Translation (Author):
From Darkness (was born) Chaos; from Chaos and Darkness: Night, Day, Erebus and Heaven. From Night and Erebus: Fate, Old Age, Death, Ruin, Continence, Sleep, Somnia <Love> that is Lysimeles, Epiphron, Porphyrion, Epaphus, Discord, Misery, Impudence, Nemesis, Euphrosyne, Friendship, Pity, Styx; the three fates, that is Clotho, Lachesis, Atropos; Hesperides, Aegle, lofty Hesperie.

Ovid (43 B.C.-17? A.C.)
Metamorphoses 3.403-406:
[Story of Narcissus and his great scorn of lovers]
inde manus aliquis despectus ad aethera tollens "sic amet ipse licet, sic non potiatur amato!" dixerat; adsensit precibus Rhamnusia iustis.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Miller, F.J., *Ovid, Volume III,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916, Third edition 1977, 2nd Imp., 152-53):
At last one of these scorned youth, lifting his hands to heaven, prayed: "son may he himself love, and not gain the thing he loves!" The goddess, Nemesis, heard his righteous prayer.

Metamorphoses 14.693-694:
(Begging for the love of his beloved he says:)
ultoresque deos et pectora dura persam Idalien memoremque time Rhamnusidis iram!

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Miller, F.J., *Ovid, Volume IV*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916, Secoond edition revised 1984, 348-49):
And have a thought for the avenging gods and the Idalian goddess who detests the hard of heart, and the unforgetting wrath of Nemesis!

Tristia 5.8.3-12:
quae tibi res animos in me facit, improbe ? curve
casibus insultas, quo potes ipse pati ?
nec mala te reddunt mitem placidumque iacenti
nostra, quibus possint inlacrimare ferae;
nec metuis dubio Fortunae stantis in orbe
numen, et exosae verba superba deae.
exigit a dignis ultrix Rhamnusia poenas:
inposito calcas quid mea fata pede ?
vidi ego naufragium qui risit in aequore mergi,
et "numquam" dixi "iustior unda fuit."

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Wheeler, A.L., *Ovid, Volume VI*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924, Second edition revised 1988, 241):
(To a Detractor)
What stirs your spirit up against me, shameless man ? Why do you mock at misfortunes which you yourself may suffer ? My woes do not soften you and placate you towards one who is prostrate—woes over which wild beasts might weep, nor do you fear the power of Fortune standing on her swaying wheel, nor the haughty commands of the goddess who hates (Author—better translated as "nor (the power) of the goddess who hates arrogant words"). Avenging Rhamnusia exacts a penalty from those who deserve it; why do you set your foot and trample upon my fate ? I have seen one drowned in the waves who had laughed at shipwreck, and I said, "Never were the waters more just."

Strabo (64/3 B.C.-c.21 A.C.)
Geographica 9.1.17.5-6:
Ῥαμνοῦς δὲ τὸ τῆς Νεμέσεως ξόανον, ὅ τινες μὲν Διοδότου φασὶν ἔργον, τινὲς δὲ Ἀγορακρίτου τοῦ Παρίου, καὶ μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει σφόδρα κατωρθωμένον καὶ ἐνάνιλλον τοῖς Φειδίου ἔργοις.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Jones, H.J., *The Geography of Strabo, Volume IV*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927, 5th Imp., 263):

Rhamnus has the statue of Nemesis, which by some is called the work of Diodotus and by others of Agorakritus the Parian, a work which both in grandeur and in beauty is a great success and rivals the works of Pheidias;

Geographica 9.1.22.11-12:
μετὰ δὲ Μαραθώνιον Τρικόρυνθος, εἶτα Ῥαμνοῦς, τὸ τῆς Νεμέσεως ἱερόν,

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Jones, H.J., *The Geography of Strabo, Volume IV*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927, 5th Imp., 273):
After Marathon one comes to Tricorynthus; then to Rhamnus, the sanctuary of Nemesis;

Geographica 13.1.4-5, 13-17:
Ἐκαλεῖτο δ' ἡ χώρα αὕτη Ἀδράστεια καὶ Ἀδραστείας πεδίον...φησὶ δὲ Καλλισθένης ἀπὸ Ἀδράστου βασιλέως, ὃς πρῶτος Νεμέσεως ἱερὸν ἱδρύσατο, καλεῖσθαι Ἀδράστειαν...ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἱερὸν Ἀδραστείας δείκνυται, οὐδὲ δὴ Νεμέσεως, περὶ δὲ Κύζικόν ἐστιν Ἀδραστείας ἱερόν. Ἀντίμαχος δ' οὕτω φησίν·

> ἔστι δέ τις Νέμεσις μεγάλη θεός, ἣ τάδε πάντα
> πρὸς μακάρων ἔλαχεν· βωμὸν δί οἱ εἵσατο πρῶτος
> Ἄδρηστος ποταμοῖο παρὰ ῥόον Αἰσήποιο,
> ἔνθα τετίμηταί τε καὶ Ἀδρήστεια καλεῖται.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Jones, H.J., *The Geography of Strabo, Volume VI*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929, 5th Imp., 29-31):
This country was called "Adrasteia" and "Plain of Adrasteia",...According to Callisthenes, among others, Adrasteia was named after king Adrastus, who was the first to found a temple of Nemesis...Here (Parium), however, there is no temple of Adrasteia, nor yet of Nemesis, to be seen, although there is a temple of Adrasteia near Cyzicus. Antimachus says as follows: "There is a great goddess Nemesis, who has obtained as her portion all these things from the Blessed. Adrestus was the first to build an altar to her beside the stream of the Aesepus River, where she is worshipped under the name of Adresteia."

First Century A.C.

Automedon (First Century A.C.)
Anthologia Graeca Book XI.326:
Πώγων, καὶ λάσιαι μηρῶν τρίχες, ὥς ταχὺ πάντα
ὁ χρόνος ἀλλάσσει· Κόννιχε, τοῦτ' ἐγένου.

οὐκ ἔλεγον; "Μὴ πάντα βαρὺς θέλε μηδὲ βάναυσος
εἶναι· καὶ κάλλους εἰσί τινες Νεμέσεις."
ἦλθες ἔσω μάνδρης, ὑπερήφανε· νῦν ὅτι βούλει
οἴδαμεν· ἀλλ' ἐξῆν καὶ τότ' ἔχειν σε φρένας.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume IV*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918, rev. 1971, 8th Imp., 223):
Beard and rough hair on the thighs, how quickly time changes all! Connichus, is this what you have become ? Did I not say, "Be not in all things harsh and discourteous; Beauty has its own Nemeseis" ? So you have come into the pen, proud youth; we know that you wish for it now; but then, too, you might have had sense.

Cornutus (b. c.20 A.C.; d. c.Late First Century A.C.)
*de Natura Deorum*13.17:
Νέμεσις δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νεμήσεως προσηγόρευται διαιρεῖ γὰρ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἑκάστῳ.

Translation (Author):
Nemesis is derived from "distribution", for she separates the lot for each.

Lucillus (Mid-First Century A.C.)
Anthologia Graeca Book XI.216:
Τὸν φιλόπαιδα Κράτιππον ἀκούσατε· θαῦμα γὰρ ὑμῖν
καινὸν ἀπαγγέλλω· πλὴν μεγάλαι Νεμέσεις.
τὸν φιλόπαιδα Κράτιππον ἀωεύρομεν ἄλλο γένος τι
τῶν ἑτεροζήλων. ἤλπισα τοῦτ' ἂν ἐγώ;
ἤλπισα τοῦτο, Κράτιππε· μανήσομαι εἰ, λύκος εἶναι
πᾶσι λέγων, ἐφάνης ἐξαπίνης ἔριφος;

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume IV*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918, rev. 1971, 8th Imp., 175):
You have heard of Cratippus as a lover of boys. It is a great marvel I have to tell you, but great goddesses are the Nemeseis. We discovered that Cratippus, the lover of boys, belongs now to another variety of those persons whose tastes lie in an inverse direction. Would I ever have expected this ? I expected it, Cratippus. Shall I go mad because, while you told everyone you were a wolf, you suddenly turned out to be a kid ?

Mundus Munatius (First Century A.C.?)
Anthologia Graeca Book IX.103:

Ἡ πολύχρυσος ἐγὼ τὸ πάλαι πόλις, ἡ τὸν Ἀτρειδῶν
  οἶκον ἀπ’ οὐρανίου δεξαμένη γενεῆς,
ἡ Τροίην πέρσασα θεόκτιτον, ἡ βασίλειον
  ἀσφαλὲς Ἑλλήνων οὖσά ποθ’ ἡμιθέων,
μηλόβοτος κεῖμαι καὶ βούνομος ἔνθα Μυκήνη,
  τῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ μεγάλων τοὔνομ’ ἔχουσα μόνον.
Ἴλιον ἆ Νεμέσει μεμελημένον, εἴ γε, Μυκήνης
  μηκέθ’ ὁρωμένης, ἐσσί, καὶ ἐσσὶ πόλις.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume III*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917, 7th Imp., 55):
I, Mycenae, the city once so rich in gold, I who received into my walls the house of the Atreidae, sons of Heaven, I who sacked Troy that a god built, I who was the secure royal seat of the Greek demi-gods, lie here, the pasture of sheep and oxen, with naught of my greatness left but the name. Well hath Nemesis borne thee in mind, Ilion, since now, when Mycenae is no longer to be seen, thou art, and art a city.

Pliny the Elder (23/4-79 A.C.)
Naturalis Historia 11.251.3-4:
est post aurem aeque dexteram Nemeseos, quae dea Latinum nomen ne in Capitolio quidem invenit, quo referimus tactum ore proximum a minimo digitum, veniam sermanis a dis ibi recondentes.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Rackham, H., *Pliny's Natural History, Volume III*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940, 5th Imp., 590-91):
Similarly behind the right ear is the seat of Nemesis (a goddess that even on the Capitol has not found a Latin name), and to it we apply the third finger after touching our mouths, the mouth being the place where we locate pardon from the gods for our utterances.

Naturalis Historia 28.22.5-6:
cur effascinationibus adoratione peculiari occurrimus alii
Graecam Nemesin invocantes, cuius ob id Romae simulacrum
in Capitolio est, quamvis Latinum nomen non sit ?

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Jones, W.H.S., *Pliny's Natural History, Volume*

VIII, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, 3rd Imp., 16-17):
Why do we meet the evil eye by a special attitude of prayer, some invoking the Greek Nemesis, for which purpose there is at Rome an image of the goddess on the Capitol, although she has no Latin name?

Naturalis Historia 35.144.1:
(Among famous painters and their works)
Simus iuvenum requiescentem, officinam fullonis quinquatrus celebrantem, idemque Nemesim egregiam,

Translation (Author):
Simus a Young Man Reposing, a Fuller's Shop Celebrating the Quinquatrus, and also a Nemesis of great merit;

Naturalis Historia 36.17.7-8:
certavere autem inter se ambo discipuli Venere facienda, vicitque Alcamenes no opere, sed civitatis suffragiis contra pergrinum suo faventis, quare Agoracritus ea lege signum suum vendidisse traditur, ne Athenis esset, et appellasse Nemesin. id positum est Rhamnunte pago Atticae, quod M. Varro omnibus signis praetulit.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Eichholz, D.E., *Pliny's Natural History, Volume X*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962, 3rd Imp., 12-15):
However that may be, the two pupils competed with each other in making a Venus, and Alcamenes won the contest, not indeed through his skill, but through the votes of his fellow-citizens, who supported their kinsman at the expense of his foreign rival. Consequently, Agoracritus is reported to have sold his statue under the proviso that it should not remain in Athens, and to have called it Nemesis. It was set up within Attica in the deme of Rhamnus, and Marcus Varro preferred it to any other statue.

Pomponius Mela (fl.37-54 A.C.)
De Chorographia 2.3.45.5-46.2:
Rhamnus parva, inlustris tamen, quod in ea fanum est Amphiarai et Phidiaca Nemesis;

Translation (Author):
Tiny Rhamnous, nonetheless famous, because in it is the Sanctuary of Amphiaros and the Phidian Nemesis.

Secundus of Tarentum (First Century A.C.)
Anthologia Graeca Book IX.260:
Ἡ τὸ πάλαι Λαῒς πάντων βέλος, οὐκέτι Λαῒς
ἀλλ' ἐτέων φανερὴ πᾶσιν ἐγὼ Νέμεσις.
οὐ μὰ Κύπριν (τί δὲ Κύπρις ἐμοί γ' ἔτι, πλὴν ὅσον ὅρκος;)
γνώριμον οὐδ' αὐτῇ Λαΐδι Λαῒς ἔτι.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume III*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917, 7th Imp., 139):
I, Lais, who was once the love-dart that smote all, am Lais no longer, but a witness to all of the Nemesis of years. No, by Cypris!—and what is Cypris to me now but an oath ?—Lais is no longer recognisable to Lais herself.

Statius (c.45-96 A.C.)
Silvae 2.6.73-78:
attendit torvo tristis Rhamnusia vultu
primum implevitque toros oculisque nitorem
addidit ac solito sublimus ora levavit,
heul misero letale favens, seseque videndo
torsit et invidia mortemque amplexa iacenti
iniecit nexu calpsitque immitis adunca ora verenda manu.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Mozley, J.H., *Statius, Volume I*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928, 5th Imp., 124-25):
With grim frown the stern Rhamnusian gave heed, and first she filled out his muscles and set a brilliance in his eyes and raised his head higher than of wont; deadly alas! to the poor lad were her favors; she tortured herself with envy at the sight, and clasping the sufferer struck death into him by her embrace, and with hooked, relentless fingers tore that pure countenance.

Timaeus (actually Pseudo-Timaeus)(circa First Century A.C.)
de Natura Mundae 225.5-6:
Ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐν δευτέρᾳ περιόδῳ ἁ Νέμεσις συνδιέκρινε σὺν δαίμοσι παλαμναίοις χθονίοις τε, τοῖς ἐπόπταις τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, οἷς ὁ πάντων ἁγεμὼν θεὸς ἐπέτρεψε διοίκησιν κόσμω συμπεπληρωμένω ἐκ θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων τῶν τε ἄλλων ζώων, ὅσα δεδαμιούργηται ποτ' εἰκόνα τὰν ἀπίστον εἴδεος ἀγεννήτω καὶ αἰωνίω καὶ νοατῶ.

Translation (Reprinted with permission of the publisher from: Tobin, T.H., *Timaios of Locri, On the Nature of the World and the Soul*, Chico, CA:

Scholar's Press, 1985, 73):
Nemesis, together with the avenging and chthonic daimons, the overseers of human affairs, have determined all of these things (reference to the precedding discusion of the appropriate reincarnations for people of different characters) for the second cycle (of birth). The god, the ruler of all, turned over to them the direction of the universe which is filled with gods and human beings as well as with other living things. And all of these beings were fashioned in relationship to the best-possible image of the ungenerated, eternal, and intelligible form.

Vita Aesopi (First Century A.C.)
1.16.9:
οἱ δὲ δοῦλοι πρὸς ἑαυτούς· "νὴ τὴν Νέμεσιν,
  τί ἐγένετο
τῷ δεσπότῃ τοιοῦτον κακοπινὲς σῶμα ἀγοράσαι;"

Translation (Author):
The slaves (said) to themselves: " By Nemesis, why did the master happen to buy such a loathsome person (literally 'body' which is a word used for slaves)".

First-Second Centuries A.C.
Dio Chrysostomus (c.40-after 112 A.C.)
Orationes 39 22.8.8-9:
εὔχομαι δὴ τῷ τε Διονύσῳ τῷ προπάτορι τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ κτίσαντι τήνδε τὴν πόλιν καὶ Διὶ Πολιεῖ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ φιλία καὶ Ὀμονοία καὶ Νεμέσει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας τῇδε τῇ πόλει πόθον ἑαυτῆς ἐμβαλεῖν καὶ ἔρωτα καὶ μίαν γνώμην καὶ ταὐτὰ βούλεσθαι καὶ φρονεῖν, στάσιν δὲ καὶ ἔριδα καὶ φιλονικίαν ἐκβαλεῖν, ὡς ἂν ἐν ταῖς εἰδαμονεστάταις καὶ ἀρίσταις ᾗ πόλεσι τὸ λοιπόν.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Lamar Crosby, H., *Dio Chrysostom, Volume IV*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1946, 3rd Imp., 103, 105):
Accordingly, I pray to Dionysos the progenitor of this city (Nicaea), to Herakles its founder, to Zeus Guardian of Cities, to Athena, to Aphrodite Fosterer of Friendship, to Harmony and Nemesis, and all the other gods, that from this day forth they may implant in this city a yearning for itself, a passionate love, a singleness of purpose, a unity of wish and thought; and, on the other hand, that they may cast out strife and contentiousness and jealousy, so that this city may be numbered among the most prosperous and the noblest for all time to come.

Orationes 40 23.14.2-3:
οἱ δὲ ἐλογοποίουν ὅτι τοῖς Σμυρναίοις παμπόλλας δωρεὰς δοίη καὶ χρήματα ἀμύθητα πέμψειε μετὰ τῶν Νεμέσεων, καὶ νὴ Δί' ὡς ἄλλου τινὸς διαλεχθέντος μυρίους μὲν αὐτῷ συνεχώρησε βουλευτάς, χρυσίου δ' ἐκέλευσε ποταμὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τραπῆναι καὶ μυριάδες ἄπειροί τινες ἐδόθησαν·

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Lamar Crosby, H., *Dio Chrysostom, Volume IV*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1946, 3rd Imp., 121, 123):
And others invented the tale that he (Trajan) gave the delegates from Smyrna very many presents, and that he sent untold riches along with images of Nemesis and, by Heaven, that after some one else had delivered an address he granted him ten thousand councillors and ordered a flood of gold to be turned in the direction of his city, and countless thousands of guineas were bestowed.

Orationes 64.8.1-2:
Ὠνόμασται δὲ ἡ τύχη καὶ πολλοῖς τισιν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὀνόμασι, τὸ μὲν ἴσον αὐτῆς νέμεσις, τὸ δὲ ἄδηλον ἐλπίς,...

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Lamar Crosby, H., *Dio Chrysostom, Volume V*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951, 3rd Imp., 51):
And, Fortune has been given many names among men. Her impartiality has been named Nemesis or Retributive Justice; her obscurity, Elpis or Hope;...

Plutarch (c.46-120 A.C.)
Moralia, de Defectu Oraculorum 413.A.6-7:
θαυματὸν γάρ ἐστιν, εἰ τοσαύτης κακίας ὑποκεχυμένης μὴ μόνον, ὡς προεῖπεν Ἡσίοδος, Αἰδὼς καὶ Νέμεσις τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἀπολελοίπασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόνοια θεῶν συσκευασαμένη τὰ χρηστήρια πανταχόθεν οἴχεται.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Babbit, F.C., *Plutarch's Moralia, Volume V*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936, 5th Imp., 367, 369):
Is it indeed a wonder, when so much wickedness has been disseminated upon the earth, that not only Modesty and Righteous Indignation, as Hesiod said so long ago, have deserted the life of Mankind, but that Divine providence also has gathered up its oracles and departed from every place.

Moralia, Fragment 31.1-2:

ἀθανάτων μετὰ φῦλον ἴτον προλιπόντ' ἀνθρώπους Αἰδῶς καὶ Νέμεσις.
[Τουτέστι τὸ τῶν κακῶν ἔσχατον. ἀναιδείας γὰρ κρατησάσης καὶ φθόνου τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πάντῃ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἀπολιπεῖν αἰδῶ καὶ νέμεσιν. τούτων γὰρ ἀπόπτωσίς ἐστιν ἡ ἀναίδεια καὶ φθόνος.]
Ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν εἴδωλον ὢν νεμέσεως (δοκεῖ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς παρ' ἀξίαν εὐτυχοῦσιν ἀγανακτεῖν), ἡ δ' ἀναίδεια οὐχὶ εἴδωλον τῆς αἰδοῦς ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐναντιώτατον πρὸς αὐτὴν ὑποκρινόμενον τὴν παρρησίαν...
Καλῶς οὖν καὶ Πλάτων ἐπωτηθεὶς τί ποτε προσγέγονε τοῖς κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώποις, ἀπεκρίνατο μὴ αἰσχύνεσθαι κακοὺς ὄντας. ὅτι δὲ θεῖον πρᾶγμα καὶ ἡ νέμεσις δηλοῖ τὸ καὶ θεοῖς αὐτὴν ὑπάρχειν· "νεμέσησε δὲ πότνια Ἥρη", φησὶν ἡ ποίησις. φθόνος δ' ἔξωθεν θείου χοροῦ παντός.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Sandbach, F.H., ***Plutarch's Moralia, Volume XV: Fragments***, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969, 2nd Imp., 115, 117):

Then Shame and Indignation will forsake
Mankind, and seek the nation of the gods.

[This is the extremity of evil. For when shamlessness and jealousy rule men, shame and indignation leave our race altogether, since shamelessness and jealousy are the negation of these things.]
Jealousy, however, is a conterfeit of indignation (for it too appears to show anger at undeserved good fortune), whereas shamelessness is not a counterfeit of shame, but its extreme opposite, masquerading as frankness of speech...
So Plato, too, when asked what conceivable progress his contemporaries had made, returned a good answer: " To have no shame in being wicked." And that indignation is a divine thing is shown by its being felt even by the gods. "And divine Hera was indignant," says the poem (Iliad VIII.198). But "Jealousy has no part in all the divine choir." (Plato, Phaedrus 247A).

Vitae Parallelae, Philopoimen 18.3.1-2:

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ Νέμεσίς τις ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴν εὐδρομοῦντα πρὸς τέρματι τοῦ βίου κατέβαλε.

Translation (Author):

But, some Nemesis threw him down, like a successful athlete, towards the end of his life.

Second Century A.C.

Aelius Aristides (c.117-189 A.C.)
Presbeutikos pros Achillea 436.27-30:
δύο γὰρ τούτο θεὰ περιέρχεσθον ἅπαντα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, Νέμεσις καὶ Δίκη, οὐκ ἐῶσαι μεῖζον τῆς φύσεως φρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ ῥαδίως μικροὺς ἐκ μεγάλων ποιοῦσαι, ἐάν τις αὐτῶν μηδένα ποιῆται λόγον.

Translation (Author):
For these two goddesses, Nemesis and Dike, suvey all the affairs of men, not allowing men to be overly prideful beyond their nature, but easily making small from great, if someone of them (the great) pays no attenton.

Appianus (c.95-160 A.C.)
Bella Civilia 2.13.90.22-23:
τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τοῦ Πομπίου προσφερομένην οὐχ ὑπέστη, ἀλλὰ προσέταξε ταφῆναι, καί τι αὐτῇ τέμενος βραχὺ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως περιτεθὲν Νεμέσεως τέμενος ἐκαλεῖτο· ὅπερ ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ κατὰ ‘Ρωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα Τραϊανὸν, ἐξολλύντα τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ’Ιουδαίων γένος, ὑπὸ τῶν ’Ιουδαίων ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας κατηρείφθη.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: White, H., *Appian. Volume III*, *The Civil Wars*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913, 7th Imp., 393, 395):
Caesar could not bear to look at the head of Pompey when it was brought to him, but ordered that it be buried, and set apart for it a small plot of ground near the city which was dedicated to Nemesis, but in my time, while the Roman emperor Trajan was exterminating the Jewish race in Egypt, it was devastated by them in the exigencies of the war.

Libyca 402.2-3:
προφέροντες δ’ ὑμῖν ὁρκίους θεοὺς καὶ τύχην ἀνθρωπείαν καὶ τὴν φοβερωτάτην τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσι Νέμεσιν δεόμεθα μήτε ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν εὐπραγίαν ὑμᾶς ὑβρίσαι μήτε τὰς ἡμετέρας συμφορὰς ἐς ἀνήκεστον προαγαγεῖν, συγχωρῆσαι δ’, εἰ μὴ δίδοτε τὴν πόλιν ἔχειν, ἔς γε τὴν σύγκλητον ἔτι πρεσβεῦσαι περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ δεηθῆναι.

Translation (Contributed by Ippokratis Kantzios):
Citing for you the gods of oath and human fortune and Nemesis, most fearful to the happy ones, we ask you to neither in your prosperity act hybristically nor advance (push) our misfortunes to a point beyond cure, but at least, if you do not grant us to have the city, to allow (us) still to send an embassy to the assembly to both discuss the things concerning itself and to

entreat (them).

Apuleius (c.123/125-late Second Century A.C.)
de Asino Aureo XI.5:
(List of deities with whom Isis is syncretized)
...Iunonem alii, Bellonam alii, Hecatam isti, Rhamnusiam illi,...

Artemidorus (Second Century A.C.)
Oneirocritica 2.37:
Νέμεσις ἀεὶ τοῖς κατὰ νόμον ζῶσιν ἀγαθὴ καὶ μετρίοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ φιλοσόφοις· τοῖς δὲ παρανομοῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις τισὶ καὶ τοῖς μεγάλων ὀρεγομένοις πραγμάτων ἐναντία καθίσταται καὶ ἐμπόδιος τῶν ἐπιχειρουμένων· νεμεσᾶν γὰρ καλοῦμεν καὶ τὸ ἐμποδὼν ἵστασθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις κατὰ γνώμην. λέγουσι δέ τινες ὅτι ἡ θεὸς αὕτη τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τρέπει, τὰ δὲ κακὰ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of Original Books from: White, R.J., *The Interpretation of Dreams by Artemidorus*, Park Ridge, N. J.: Noyes Press, 1975, 120):
Nemesis always means good luck for those who live in accord with the law, for men of moderate means, and for philosophers. But for those who transgress the law, those who attack others, or those who are beginning important affairs, Nemesis signifies just the opposite and indicates that their undertakings will be hindered. For we also use the word νεμεσᾶν to indicate that something is standing in the way of one's plan. Some maintain, on the other hand, that this goddess changes good things for the worse and bad things for the better.

Chariton (Second Century A.C.)
Chaereas et Callirhoe 3.8.6.5-6:
ἔκλαυσεν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς Διονύσιος ἰδὼν καὶ ἡσυχῆ τὴν
Νέμεσιν προσεκύνησε.

Translation (Author):
Seeing (Callirhoe holding their son), Dionysios wept with pleasure and quietly made obeisence to Nemesis.

Herodianus & Pseudo-Herodianus (c.161-180 A.C.)
De Prosodia Catholica 3,1.276.15-17:
<Ἀδράστεια> μεταξὺ Παρίου ἀπὸ Ἀδράστου βασιλέως, ὃς καὶ πρῶτος ἱδρύσατο τὸ Νεμέσεως ἱερόν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ ἡ χώρα Ἀδράστεια καὶ Ἀδραστείας πεδίον καὶ ἡ πόλις οὕτως.

Translation (Author):
Adrasteia: Between Parion, (named) from King Adrastos who first erected a temple of Nemesis. The country was called Adrasteia, the Plain of Adrasteia, and the City likewise.

11.3,2.467.33-34:
<Ἀδράστεια> πόλις ἀπὸ Ἀδράστου βασιλέως, ὃς καὶ πρῶτος ἱδρύσατο τὸ Νεμέσεως ἱερόν. λέγεται καὶ Ἀδρήστεια.

Translation (Author):
Adrasteia: City (named) from King Adrastos who first erected a temple of Nemesis. It is also called Adresteia.

Lucian (c.120/5-after 180 A.C.)
de Syria Dea 32.4-5:
(List of deities with whom the Syrian Goddess is syncretized)
...καὶ Ῥέης καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Νεμέσιον καὶ...

Translation (Author):
Among list of deities identified with Dea Syria:
And Rhea and Artemis and Nemesis...

Lucian or Pseudo-Lucian
Asinus 35.9-10:
ἡ δὲ πολλὰ πολλάκις δινουμένη καὶ μεταπίπτουσα Νέμεσις ἤγαγεν κἀμοὶ τὸν δεσπότην, οἷον οὖκ ἂν εὐξάμην.

Translation (Author):
The often whirling about and changing Nemesis led to me the master also, such a one for whom I would not have wished.

Mesomedes (Second Century A.C.)
Hymnus in Nemesin:
Νέμεσι πτερόεσσα, βίου ῥοπά,
κυανῶπι θεά, θύγατερ Δίκας,
ἃ κοῦφα φρυάγματα θνατῶν
ἐπέχεις ἀδάμαντι χαλινῷ
ἔχθουσα δ' ὕβριν ὀλοὰν βροτῶν
μέλανα φθόνον ἐκτὸς ἐλαύνεις.
ὑπὸ σὸν τρόχον ἄστατον, ἀστιβῆ
χαροπὰ μερόπων στρέφεται τύχα·
λήθουσα δὲ πὰρ πόδα βαίνεις,

γαυρούμενον αὐχένα κλίνεις·
ὑπὸ πῆχυν ἀεὶ βίοτον μετρεῖς,
νεύεις δ’ ὑπὸ κόλπον ὀφρὺν κάτω
ζυγὸν μετὰ χεῖρα κρατοῦσα.
ἵλαθι, μάκαιρα δικασπόλε
Νέμεσι πτερόεσσα, βίου ῥοπά.
Νέμεσιν θεὸν ᾄδομεν ἀφθίταν,
Νίκην τανυσίπτερον, ὀμβρίμαν,
νημερτέα καὶ πάρεδον Δίκας,
ἃ τὰν μεγαλανορίαν βροτῶν
νεμεσῶσα φέρεις κατὰ Ταρτάρου.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher from: Yeld, D., Mesomedes Hymn to Nemesis, in *Musique de la Grèce antique*, Saint-Michel de Provence: Harmonia Mundi, 1978):
Winged Nemesis, turner of the scales of life, blue-eyed goddess, daughter of justice, who with your unbending bridle, dominate the vain arrogance of men and, loathing man's fatal vanity, obliterate black envy; beneath your wheel, unstable and leaving no imprint, the fate of men is tossed; you who come, unnoticed, in an instant, to subdue the insolent head. You measure life with your hand, and with frowning brows, hold the yolk. Hail, blest immortal goddess, winged Nemesis, turning the scales of life, imperishable and holy goddess Nemesis; Victory of unfurled wings, powerful, infallible, who shares the altar with justice and, furious at human pride, casts man into the abyss of Tartarus.

Pausanias (fl. c. 150 A.C.)
Graeciae descriptio 33.2-8.1-2:
Μαραθῶνος δὲ σταδίους μάλιστα ἑξήκοντα ἀπέχει Ῥαμνοῦς τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἰοῦσιν ἐς Ὠρωπόν. καὶ αἱ μὲν οἰκήσεις ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰσί, μικρὸν δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Νεμέσεώς ἐστιν ἱερόν, ἣ θεῶν μάλιστα ἀνθρώποις ὑβρισταῖς ἐστιν ἀπαραίτητος. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀποβᾶσιν ἐς Μαραθῶνα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπαντῆσαι μήνιμα ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης· καταφρονήσαντες γὰρ μηδέν σφισιν ἐμποδὼν εἶναι τὰς Ἀθήνας ἑλεῖν, λίθον Πάριον ὥς ἐπ’ ἐξειργασμένοις ἦγον ἐς τροπαίου ποίησιν. τοῦτον Φειδίας τὸν λίθον εἰργάσατο ἄγαλματα μὲν εἶναι Νεμέσεως, τῇ κεφαλῇ δὲ ἔπεστι τῆς θεοῦ στέφανος ἐλάφους ἔχων καὶ Νίκης ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα· ταῖς δὲ χερσὶν ἔχει τῇ μὲν κλάδον μηλέας, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ φιάλην, Αἰθίοπες δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ φιάλῃ πεποίηνται. συμβαλέσθαι δὲ τὸ ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας οὔτε αὐτὸς εἶχον οὔτε ἀπεδεχόμην τῶν συνιέναι πειθομένων, οἳ πεποιῆσθαι σφᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ φιάλῃ φασὶ διὰ ποταμὸν Ὠκεανόν· οἰκεῖν γὰρ Αἰθίοπας ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, Νεμέσει δὲ εἶναι πατέρα Ὠκεανόν...

πτερὰ δ' ἔχον οὔτε τοῦτο τὸ ἄγαλμα Νεμέσεως οὔτε ἄλλο πεποίηται τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ Σμυρναίοις τὰ ἁγιώτατα ξόανα ἔχει πτερά· οἱ δὲ ὕστερον—ἐπιφαίνεσθαι γὰρ τὴν θεὸν μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρᾶν ἐθέλουσιν—ἐπὶ τούτῳ Νεμέσει πτερὰ ὥσπερ Ἔρωτι ποιοῦσι. νῦν δὲ ἤδη δίειμι ὁπόσα ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ τοῦ ἀγάλματός ἐστιν εἰργασμένα, τοσόνδε ἐς τὸ σαφὲς προδηλώσας. Ἑλένῃ Νέμεσιν μητέρα εἶναι λέγουσιν Ἕλληνες, Λήδαν δὲ μαστὸν ἐπισχεῖν αὐτῇ καὶ θρέψαι· πατέπα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι καὶ πάντες κατὰ ταὐτὰ Ἑλένης Δία καὶ οὐ Τυνδάρεων εἶναι νομίζουσι. ταῦτα ἀκηκοὼς Φειδίας πεποίηκεν Ἑλένην ὑπὸ Λήδας ἀγομένην παρὰ τὴν Νέμεσιν, πεποίηκε δὲ Τυνδάρεών τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρα σὺν ἵππῳ παρεστηκότα Ἱππέα ὄνομα· ἔστι δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος καὶ Πύρρος ὁ Ἀχιλλέως, πρῶτος οὗτος Ἑρμιόνην τὴν Ἑλένης γυναῖκα λαβών· Ὀρέστης δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐς τὴν μητέρα τόλμημα παρείθη, παραμεινάσης τε ἐς ἅπαν Ἑρμιόνης αὐτῷ καὶ τεκούσης παῖδα. ἑξῆς δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ καὶ Ἔποχος καλούμενος καὶ νεανίας ἐστὶν ἕτερος· ἐς τούτους ἄλλο μὲν ἤκουσα οὐδέν, ἀδελφοὺς δὲ εἶναι σφᾶς Οἰνόης, ἀφ' ἧς ἐστι τὸ ὄνομα τῷ δήμῳ.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Jones, W.H.S., *Pausanias, Volume I*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918, 7th Imp., 179, 181, 183):

About sixty stades from Marathon as you go along the road by the sea to Oropus stands Rhamnus. The dwelling houses are on the coast, but a little way inland is a sanctuary of Nemesis, the most implacable deity to men of violence. It is thought that the wrath of this goddess fell also upon the foreigners who landed at Marathon. For thinking in their pride that nothing stood in the way of their taking Athens, they were bringing a piece of Parian marble to make a trophy, convinced that their task was already finished. Of this marble Pheidias made a statue of Nemesis, and on the head of the goddess is a crown with deer and small images of Victory. In her left hand she holds an apple branch, in her right hand a cup on which are wrought Aethiopians. As to the Aethiopians, I could hazard no guess myself, nor could I accept the statement of those who are convinced that the Aethiopians have been carved upon the cup beacuse of the river Ocean. For the Aethiopians, they say, dwell near it, and Ocean is the father of Nemesis...

Neither this nor any other ancient statue of Nemesis has wings, for not even the holiest images of the Smyrnaeans have them, but later artists, convinced that the goddess manifests herself most as a consequence of love, give wings to Nemesis as they do to Love. I will now go on to describe what is figured on the pedestal of the statue, having made this preface for the sake of clearness. The Greeks say that Nemesis is the mother of Helen, while Leda suckled and nursed her. The father of Helen the Greeks like everybody else hold to be not Tyndareus but Zeus. Having heard this legend Pheidias has represented Helen as being led to Nemesis by Leda, and he has represented Tyndareus and his children with a man Hippeus by name standing by with a horse. There are Agamemnon and Menelaus and Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles and first husband of Hermione, the daughter of Helen. Orestes was passed over because of his crime against his mother, yet Hermione stayed by his side in everything and bore him a child. Next upon the pedestal is one called Epochus and another youth; the only thing I heard about them was that they were brothers of Oenoe, from whom the parish has its name.

Graeciae descriptio 7.5.2-4:
Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Φιλίππου τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν πόλεως ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς κατ' ὄψιν ὀνείρατος· Ἀλέξανδρον γὰρ θηρεύοντα ἐν τῷ ὄπει τῷ Πάγῳ, ὡς ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας, ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς Νεμέσεων λέγουσιν ἱερόν, καὶ πηγῇ τε ἐπιτυχεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ πλατάνῳ πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πεφυκυίᾳ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος. καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ πλατάνῳ καθεύδοντι κελεύειν φασὶν αὐτῷ τὰς Νεμέσεις ἐπιφανείσας πόλιν ἐνταῦθα οἰκίζειν καῖ ἄγειν ἐς αὐτὴν Σμυρναίους ἀναστήσαντα ἐκ τῆς προτέρας· ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν ἐς Κλάρον θεωροὺς οἱ Σμυρναῖοι περὶ τῶν παρόντων σφίσιν ἐρησομένους, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἔχρησεν ὁ θεός·

τρὶς μάκαρες κεῖνοι καὶ τετράκις ἄνδρες ἔσονται,
οἳ Πάγον οἰκήσουσι πέρην ἱεροῖο Μέλητος.

οὕτω μετῳκίσαντο ἐθελονταὶ καὶ δύο Νεμέσεις ωομίζουσιν ἀντὶ μιᾶς καὶ μητέρα αὐταῖς φασιν εἶναι Νὺκτα ἐπεὶ Ἀθηναῖοί γε τῇ ἐν Ῥαμνοῦντι θεῷ πατέρα λέγουσιν εἶναι Ὠκεανόν.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Jones, W.H.S., *Pausanias, Volume III*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1933, 7th Imp., 193):
The modern city was founded by Alexander, the son of Philip, in accordance with a vision in a dream. It is said that Alexander was hunting on Mount Pagus, and that after the hunt was over he came to a sanctuary of the Nemeseis, and found there a spring and a plane-tree in front of the sanctuary, growing over the water. While he slept under the plane-tree it is said that the Nemeseis appeared and bade him found a city there and to remove to it the Smyrnaeans from the old city. So the Smyrnaeans sent ambassadors to Clarus to make inquiries about the circumstance, and the god made answer:-

Thrice, yes, four times blest will those men be
Who shall dwell in Pagus beyond the sacred Meles.

So they migrated of their own free will, and believe now in two Nemeseis instead of one, saying that their mother is Night, while the Athenians say that the father of the goddess in Rhamnus is Ocean.

Graeciae descriptio 9.35.6.5-6:
καὶ Σμυρναίοις τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν Νεμέσεων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων χρυσοῦ Χάριτες ἀνάκεινται, τέχνη Βουπάλου,

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Jones, W.H.S., *Pausanias, Volume IV*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935, 6th Imp., 331):
At Smyrna, for instance, in the sanctuary of the Nemeseis, above the images have been dedicated Graces of gold, the work of Bupalus;

Graeciae descriptio 7.20.9.8-9:
τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ οὐ πόρρω Νεμέσεως ναὸς καὶ ἕτερός ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης· μεγέθει μεγάλα λίθου λευκοῦ τὰ ἀγάλματα.

Translation(Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Jones, W.H.S., *Pausanias, Volume III*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1933, 7th Imp., 289, 291):
Not far from the theatre is a temple of Nemesis, and another of Aphrodite. The images are colossal and of white marble.

Straton (fl. c.125 A.C.)
Anthologia Graeca Book XII.12:
Ἄρτι γενειάζων ὁ καλὸς καὶ στερρὸς ἐρασταῖς
  παιδὸς ἐρᾶ Λάδων. σύντομος ἡ Νέμεσις.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology IV*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918, rev. 1971, 8th Imp., 289):
Just as he is getting his beard, Lado, the fair youth, cruel to lovers, is in love with a boy. Nemesis is swift.

Anthologia Graeca Book XII.193:
Οὐδὲ Σμυρναῖαι Νεμέσεις ὅ τι σοὶ 'πιλέγουσιν,
  Ἀρτεμίδωρε, νοεῖς· "Μηδὲν ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον."
ἀλλ' οὕτως ὑπέροπτα καὶ ἄγρια κοὐδὲ πρέποντα
  κωμῳδῷ φθέγγῃ, πάνθ' ὑποκρινόμενος.
μνησθήσῃ τούτων, ὑπερήφανε· καὶ σὺ φιλήσεις,
  καὶ κωμῳδήσεις τὴν Ἀποκλειομένην.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology IV*,

Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918, rev. 1971, 8th Imp., 381):
Thou dost not even take to heart, Artemidoros, what the Nemeseis of Smyrna say to thee, "Nothing beyond due measure", but thou art always acting, talking loud in a tone so arrogant and savage, not even becoming in an actor. Thou shalt remember all this, haughty boy; thou, too, shalt love and play the part of "The barred-out lady."

Anthologia Graeca Book XII.229:
Ὡς ἀγαθὴ θεός ἐστι, δι' ἣν ὑπὸ, ἄλεξι,
 πτύομεν, ὑστερόπουν ἁζόμενοι Νέμεσιν.
ἣν σὺ μετερχομένην οὐκ ἔβλεπες, ἀλλ' ἐνόμιζες
 ἕξειν τὸ φθονερὸν κάλλος ἀειχρόνιον.
νῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν διόλωλεν· ἐλήλυθε δ' ἡ τριχάλεπτος
 δαίμων· χοἰ θέραπες νῦν σε παρερχόμεθα.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology IV*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918, rev. 1971, 8th Imp., 399):
What a good goddess is that Nemesis, to avert whom, dreading her as she treadeth behind us, we spit in our bosom! Thou didst not see her at thy heels, but didst think that for ever thou shouldst possess thy grudging beauty. Now it has perished utterly; the very wrathful goddess has come, and we, thy servants, now pass thee by.

Vettius Valens (Second Century A.C.)
1.2.21-22:
Concerning the planet Kronos:
ἐστὶ δὲ Νεμέσεως ἀστὴρ καὶ τῆς ἡμερινῆς αἱρέσεως, τῇ μὲν χρόᾳ καστορίζων, τῇ δὲ γεύσει στυφός.

Translation (Author):
It is the star of Nemesis and of the daily condition, in color of castor, in taste: astringent.

1.261.29:
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ εἴδει λογικῷ τε καὶ ἀλόγῳ τέχνης καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἢ καὶ ἄλλης ἡσδηποτοῦν αἰτίας Νέμεσις χαλιναγωγός ἔπεστι, κατὰ τὸν μυθικὸν λόγον πῆχυν κατέχουσα, μηδὲν πράσσειν ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον
ἐμφαίνουσα, καὶ τροχὸν ὑποκείμενον τῷ σφυρῷ κέκτηται σημαίνουσα τὰ λεγόμενα ἄστατα καὶ ἀβέβαια τυγχάνειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ τροχὸς εἰς ἑαυτὸν

ἀνακυκλούμενος ἀστήρικτος ὑπάρχει.

Translation (Author):
But Nemesis, who guides as with a bit and bridle, looks at every spoken and unspoken thing and attaches some measure of skill, attention or else blame, (Nemesis who) according to the mythical word holds a measuring stick, showing (us) not to do that which is beyond measure, and possesses a wheel established at her ankle symbolizing the unstable and unsteady things which are said to occur, since even the wheel, revolving by itself, is unstable.

2.22:
τοῦ Κρόνου ὁ ἀστὴρ λέγεται Φαίνων παρ' Ἕλλησι, παρὰ Αἰγυπτίοις Νεμέσεως ἀστήρ.

Translation (Author):
The star of Kronos is called "Shiner" (the planet Saturn) by the Greeks, by the Egyptians the star of Nemesis.

Second-Third Centuries A.C.
Alciphron (Late Second-Third Century A.C. ?)
Epistulae I.33:
δεδήλωκα δέ σοι ἵνα μή μέ τι μέμψῃ. ἀμυνοῦμαι γὰρ αὐτὰς οὐκ ἐν σκώμμασιν οὐδὲ βλασφημίαις, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς μάλιστα εενιάσονται. προσκυνῶ δὲ τὴν Νέμεσιν.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Benner, A.R. & Fobes F.H., *The Letters of Alciphron, Aelian, and Philostratus*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949, 4th Imp., 263):
I've laid the story bare to uou in order that you may not blame me; for I am going to get even with them, not by jibes or by abusive language, but in ways that will hurt most. I salute Nemesis.

Epistulae I.37:
ἐπικηρυκευσόμεθα δὴ αὐτῷ καὶ δακρύσομεν πιθανῶς, καὶ τὴν Νέμεσιν δεῖν αὐτὸν ὁρᾶν εἰ οὕτως ἐμὲ περιόψεται ἐρῶσαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄλλα ἐροῦμεν καὶ πλασόμεθα.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Benner, A.R. & Fobes F.H., *The Letters of Alciphron, Aelian, and Philostratus*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949, 4th Imp., 275):
So I will make overtures to him for a reconciliation and shed some tears in a

convincing way, and tell him he must watch out for Nemesis if he neglects me like this when I love him; and I'll invent some other lies of that sort.

Epistulae, Fragment 4:
μετὰ φρύνου καθεύδειν ἂν εἱλόμην, Νέμεσι δέσποινα.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Benner, A.R. & Fobes F.H., *The Letters of Alciphron, Aelian, and Philostratus*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949, 4th Imp., 283):
I should have preferred to sleep with a toad, O mistress Nemesis.

Athenaeus (c.170-230 A.C.)
Deipnosophistae 8.334c:
καὶ ὅτι ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας ἔπη, εἴτε Κύπριός τίς ἐστιν ἢ Στασῖνος ἢ ὅστις δή ποτε χαίρει ὀνομαζόμενος, τὴν Νέμεσιν ποιεῖ διωκομένην ὑπὸ Διὸς καὶ εἰς ἰχθὺν μεταμορφουμένην διὰ τούτων·

τοὺς δὲ μέτα τριτάτην Ἑλένην τέκε, θαῦμα βροτοῖσι·
τήν ποτε καλλίκομος Νέμεσις φιλότητι μιγεῖσα
Ζηνὶ θεῶν βασιλῆι τέκεω κρατερῆς ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκης.
φεῦγε γὰρ οὐδ᾽ ἔθελεν μιχθήμεναι ἐν φιλότητι
πατρὶ Διὶ Κρονίωνι· ἐτείρετο γὰρ φρένας αἰδοῖ
καὶ νεμέσει· κατὰ γῆν δὲ καὺ ἀτρύγετον μέλαν ὕδωρ
φεῦγεν, Ζεὺς δ᾽ ἐδίωκε· λαβεῖν δ᾽ ἐλιλαίετο θυμῷ
ἄλλοτε μὲν κατὰ κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης
ἰχθύι εἰδομένην, πόντον πολὺν ἐξοροθῦνον,
ἄλλοτ᾽ ἀν᾽ ᾽Ωκεανὸν ποταμὸν καὶ πείρατα γαίης,
ἄλλοτ᾽ ἀν᾽ ἤπειρον πολυβώλακα. γίγνετο δ᾽ αἴη
θηρί᾽ ὅσ᾽ ἤπειρος αἰνὰ τρέφει, ὄφρα φύγοι νιν.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Gulick, C.B., *Athenaeus, Volume IV*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930, 4th Imp., 17, 19):
And I know that the author of the Cypria, whether it is a Cyprian, or Stasinus, or however he likes to be called, represents Nemesis pursued by Zeus and changed into a fish in these lines:

Helen then she bore, the third after these, the wonder of mortals; whom fair-haired Nemesis, wrapped in the arms of love, once bore to Zeus, king of the gods, under harsh constraint. For she sought to fly, and consented not to join in love with father Zeus, son of Kronos. For her heart was torn with shame and wrath. Beneath the earth, beneath the unharvested black waters she fled, while Zeus pursued. Eagerly he yearned in his heart to grasp her as she appeared at one time like a fish in the surge of the loud-sounding sea, which excites the vasty deep, at another time along Ocean's stream and the ends of the earth, at another still, along the rich-loamed mainland. Ever she became all the dread creatures which the mainland nurtures, that she might escape.

Deipnosophistae fragment 3.2, 1.158.29:
ὅτι ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας ἔπη τὴν Νέμεσιν ποιεῖ διωκομένην ὑπὸ Διὸς καὶ εἰς ἰχθὺν μεταμορφουμένην, ἣ Διοσκούρους καὶ Ἑλένην ἔτεκε.

Translation (Author):
The author of the Epic Kypria has Nemesis pursued by Zeus and changing into a fish, (Nemesis) who gave birth to the Dioscuri and Helen.

Flavius Philostratus (c.170-244 A.C.)
Epistulae 14.6-7 (To a Boy):
ταχέως σέ θεασαίμην γενειῶντα καί παρ' ἀλλοτρίαις θύριαις κείμενον. ναὶ Ἔρως, ναὶ Νέμεσις ὀξεῖς θεοὶ καὶ στρεφόμενοι.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Benner, A.R. & Fobes, F.H., *The Letters of Alciphron, Aelian & Philostratus*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949, 4th Imp., 443):
I pray that I may soon behold you getting a beard and sitting aa a suppliant at others' doors. Yea, Eros and Nemesis are swift gods and fickly turning.

Orphei Hymni (Second-Third Century A.C. ?)
Ὦ Νέμεσι, κλήιζω σε, θεά, βασίλεια μεγίστη,
πανδερκής, ἐσαρῶσα βίον θνητῶν πολυφύλων·
ἀιδία, πολύσεμνε, μόνη χαίρουσα δικαίους,
ἀλλάσσουσα λόγον πολυποίκιλον, ἄστατον αἰεί,
ἣν πάντες δεδίασι βροτοὶ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες·
σοὶ γὰρ ἀεὶ γνώμη πάντων μέλει, οὐδέ σε λήθει
ψυχὴ ὑπερφρονέουσα λόγων ἀδιακρίτωι ὁρμῆι.
πάντ' ἐσορᾶις καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις, {καὶ} πάντα βραβεύεις
ἐν σοὶ δ' εἰσὶ δίκαι θνητῶν, πανυπέρτατε δαῖμον.
ἐλθί, μάκαιρ', ἁγνή, μύσταις ἐπιτάρροθος αἰεί·
δὸς δ' ἀγαθὴν διάωοιαν ἔχειν, παύουσα πανεχθεῖς
γνώμας οὐχ ὁσίας, πανυπέρφρονας, ἀλλοπροσάλλας.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher from: Athanassakis, A.N., *The Orphic Hymns*, Missoula, MO: Scholars Press, 1977, 83):

Nemesis, I call upon you, goddess and greatest queen,
whose all-seeing eye looks upon the lives of man's many races.
Eternal and revered, you alone rejoice in the just,
and you change and vary and shift your word.
All who bear the yoke of mortality fear you,
for you care about the thoughts of all, and the soul
that vaunts foolishly and without discretion does not escape you.
You see all, you hear all, and all you arbitrate,
O sublime deity in whom resides justice for men.
Come, blessed and pure one, ever helpful to initiates,
and grant nobility of mind, putting an end to loathsome,
unholy thoughts, such as are fickle and haughty.

Third Century A.C.
Commodianus (246 A.C.)
Instructiones I.19:
(Martin, J., *Commodiani Carmina*, Turnholt: Typographi Baerols Editii Pontifii, 1960)
Nemesiacis Vanis
Non ignominium est virbium seduci prudentem
Et colere talem aut Dianam dicere lignum?
Mane ebrio, crudo, peiuro creditis uiro,
Ex antro qui ficte loquitur quod illi uidetur,
Seuere deum agit, sibi uiscera pascit,
Incopriat ciues unus detestabilis omnes
Adplicuitque sibi simili collegio facto,
Cum quibus historiam fingit, ut deum adornat,
Ipse sibi nesuit diunare, ceteris audet,
Succollat quando libet eum, et quando deponit,
Vertitur asse rotas cum ligno bifurci,
Ac si putes illum adflatum numine ligni,
Non deos uos colitis, quos ipsi false prophetanti
Ipsos sacerdotes colitis in uano timentes.
Sed in corde uiges, fuge iam sacraria mortis.

Translation (Wallis, R.E., in *The Writings of Quintus Sept. Flor. Terullianus, Vol. III, with the Extant Works of Victorinus and Commodianus*, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1880, p.442):
Of the vain Nemesiaci.
Is it not ignominy, that a prudent man should be seduced and worship such a one, or say that a log is Diana ? You trust a man who in the morning is drunk, costive, and ready to perish, who by art speaks falsely what is seen

by him. While he lives strictly, he feeds on his own bowels. One destable one defiles all the citizens; and he has attached to himself—a similar gathering being made—those with whom he feigns the history, that he may adorn a god. He is ignorant how to prophesy for himself; for others he dares it. He places it on his shoulder when he pleases, and again he places it down. Whirling round, he is turned by himself with the tree of the two-forked one, as if you would think that he was inspired with the deity of the wood. Ye do not worship the gods whom they themselves falsely announce; ye worship the priests themselves, fearing them vainly. But if thou art strong in heart, flee at one from the shrines of death.

Legend of the Three Holy Riders (Third Century A.C.)
(Volkmann, H., Studien zum Nemesiskult, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 26, 1928, 319)
...ἐν τόπῳ καλουμένῳ Πασμασῷ, ἔνθα τῆς Νεμέσεως ἐστήρικτο βδέλυγμα ἐν τόπῳ πεδινῷ καὶ ὑλώδει.

Translation (Author):
In a place called Pasmasos, where an abomination of Nemesis had been established in a level and wooded place.

Third-Fourth Centuries A.C.
Iamblichus (c.250-325 A.C.)
Theologia Arithmeticae 40.19-20:
ὅτι Νέμεσιν καλοῦσι τὴν πεντάδα·

Translation (Author):
That they (the Pythagoreans) call the number five "Nemesis".

Porphyry (c.232/3-305 A.C.)
De Abstinentia 3.27.69:
μεθ' ὧν μὲν γὰρ Αἰδὼς καὶ Νέμεσις ἥ τε Δίκη ὡμίλει, ὅτι ἠρκοῦντο τῷ ἐκ γῆς καρπῷ·

Translation (Author):
For Aidos and Nemesis and Dike consorted among them (who first inhabitated the earth in the Golden Age), because they were content with the fruit from the earth.

Fourth Century A.C.
Ammianus Marcellinus (c.325/30-395 A.C.)
Rerum Gestarum Libri 14.11.25-26:

Haec et huius modi quaedam innumerabilia ultrix facinorum impiorum, bonorumque praemiatrix, aliquotiens operatur Adrastia, (atque utinam semper!): quam vocabulo duplici etiam Nemesim appellamus: ius quoddam sublime numinis efficacis, humanarum mentium opinione lunari circulo superpositum, vel ut definiunt alii, substantialis tutela generali potentia partilibus praesidens fatis, quam theologi veteres fingentes Iustitiae filiam, ex abdita quadam aeternitate tradunt omnia despectare terrena.

Haec ut regina causarum, et arbitra rerum ac disceptatrix, urnam sortim temerat, accidentium vices alternans, voluntatumque nostrarum exorsa interdum alio quam quo contendebant exitu terminans, multiplicer actus permutando convolvit. Eademque necessitatis insolubili retinaculo mortalitatis vinciens fastus, tumentes in cassum, et incrementorum detrimentorumque momenta versans (ut novit), nunc erectas eminentium cervices opprimit et enervat, nunc bonos ab imo suscitans ad bene vivendum extollit. Pinnas autem ideo illi fabulosa vetustas aptavit, ut adesse velocitate volucri cunctis existimetur, et praetendere gubernaculum dedit, eique subdidit rotam, ut universitatem regere per elementa discurrens omnia non ignoretur.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Rolfe, J.C., *Ammianus Marcellinus, Volume I*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935, rev. 1950, 6th Imp., 103, 105):

These and innumerable other instances of the kind are sometimes (and would that it were always so!) the work of Adrastia, the chastiser of evil deeds and rewarder of good actions, whom we also call by the second name of Nemesis. She is, as it were, the sublime jurisdiction of an efficient divine power, dwelling, as men think, above the orbit of the moon; or as others define her, an actual guardian presiding with universal sway over the destinies of individual men. The ancient theologians, regarding her as the daughter of Justice, say that from an unknown eternity she looks down upon all the creatures of the earth. She, as queen of causes and arbiter and judge of events, controls the urn with its lots and causes the changes of fortune, and sometimes she gives our plans a different result than that at which we aimed, changing and confounding many actions. She too, binding the vainly swelling pride of mortals with the indissoluble bond of fate, and controlling, as she knows how to do, the causes of gains and loss, now bends and weakens the uplifted necks of the proud, and now, raising the good from the lowest estate, lifts them to a happy life. Moreover, the storied past has given her wings in order that she might be thought to come to all with swift speed; and it has given her a helm to hold and has put a wheel beneath her feet, in order that none may fail to know that she runs through all the elements and rules the universe.

Ausonius (c.310-395 A.C.)
Epistulae 27.51-57:
Grande aliquod verbum nimirum diximus, ut se inferret nimiis vindex Rhamnusia votis; Arsacidae ut quondam regis non laeta triumphis grandia verba premens ultrix dea Medica belli sistere cecropidum in terris monumenta paranti obstitut et Graio iam figenda tropaeo ultro etiam victis Nemesis stetit Attica Persis.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Evelyn White, H.G., *Ausonius, Volume II*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921, 5th Imp., 103):
Some presumptuous word we surely spoke, that the vengeful queen of Rhamnus thus made onslaught on our excessive hopes; as in old days when, angered at the vaunting of Arsaces' royal son, the avenging goddess, crushing his presumptuous boasts, withstood his purpose to set up in the land of Cecrops' sons a memorial of Median arms, and just when she was to be raised to support a trophy of Greek arms, deliberately took her stand as Attic Nemesis to mark the Persian rout.

Epigram 42:
Ex Graeco traductum de statua Nemesis
me lapidem quondam Persae advexere, tropaeum
ut fierem bello; nunc ego sum Nemesis.
ac sicut Graecis victoribus adsto tropaeum;
punio sic Persas vaniloquos Nemesis.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Evelyn White, H.G., *Ausonius, Volume II*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921, 5th Imp., 183):
Translation from Greek, about a statue of Nemesis:
As a stone the Persians once brought me here to be atrophy of war; now am I Nemesis. And even as I stand here a trophy of Greek victory, so as Nemesis I requite the idly boasting Persians.

Clement of Rome (assigned to this late First/early Second Century Church Father but in fact probably from the Fourth Century A.C.)
Homiliae 5.13.7.1:
Νεμέσει τῇ Θεστίου τῇ Λήδα νομισθείσῃ κύκνος ἢ
χὴν γενόμενος ᾿Ελέωην ἐτεκνώσατο καὶ αὖθις ἀστὴρ γενόμενος Κάστορα καί Πολυδεύκην ἐξέφηνεν.

Translation (Author):
Becoming a swan or a gander he (Zeus) begot Helen by Nemesis or, conventionally, by Leda, the daughter of Thestios, and becoming again a star he revealed Castor and Polydeuces.

Epiphanius Constantiensis (First half of the Fourth Century A.C.)
Nomina Apostolorum 387.4:
....πότμος Νέμεσις....

Nomina Apostolorum 387.17:
.....,Πότμος Νέμεσις,....

Historia Alexandri Magni (Pseudo-Callisthenes) (c.300 A.C. ?)
Book 2.22.15.1-3:
φοβούμενοι δὲ προσκυνεῖτε τὴν παντέφοπτον Νέμεσιν καὶ Δίκην καὶ τὸν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ μακρὸν ἀπὸ ἑαυτῶν φθόνον ἀποβάλλεσθε, ὅταν ἐνταῦθα...τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους δίκαιόν ἐστι τὸ μὴ ὑπερφέρειν τύχῃ.

Translation (Author):
You who have fear, make obesience to the omniscient Nemesis and Dike, and cast away from yourselves strong and long envy, whenever at that very time...For it is righteous in the eyes of both gods and men not to excel in fortune.

Historia Augusta (Julius Capitolinus) (Late Fourth Century A.C.?)
Maximus and Balbinus 8.6.2-7.1:
Unde autem mos tractus sit, ut proficiscentes ad bellum imperatores munus gladiatorium et venatus darent, breviter dicendum est. multi dicunt apud veteres hanc devotionem contra hostes factam, ut civium sanguine litato specie pugnarum se Nemes[c]is, id est vis qu<a>edam Fortun<a>e, satiaret.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Magie, D., *The Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Volume II.*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924, 5th Imp., 463, 465):
Whence this custom arose, that emperors setting out to war gave an entertainment of gladiators and wild beasts, we must briefly discuss. Many say that among the ancients this was a solemn ritual performed against the enemy in order that the blood of citizens being thus offered in sacrifice under the guise of battle, Nemesis (that is a certain avenging power of Fortune) might be appeased.

Libanius (314-393 A.C.)

Orationes 1.1.8-10:

ὥς εὐδεῖεν ἅπαντες, ὅτι μοι τὰ τῆς τύχης ἐκέρασαν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ οὔτε εὐδαιμονέστατος οὔτε ἀθλιώτατος ἐγώ, Νεμέσεως δὲ ἡμᾶς μὴ βάλοι βέλος.

Translation (Author):

So all may know that the gods have mixed for me the things of fortune, and that I am neither the happiest nor most wretched; may the dart of Nemesis not strike us.

Orationes 19.7.3-5

τοῦ αὐτοῦ δὴ καὶ τὸ νῦν εἶναι χρὴ νομίζειν δαίμονος προσλαβόντος καὶ τὴν ὑβρισμένην Νέμεσιν. ἡ δ' ὕβρις μηκέτ' εἶναι τὸ ἕδος. καὶ | τοῦτ' ἀπεδείχθη τοῖς ἐξ ἱεροῦ Νεμέσεως ἑτέρου γεγενημένοις.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Norman, A.F., *Libanius, Volume II*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press,1971, 271, 273):

The present situation surely must be regarded as the responsibility of the same spirit which has gained the aid of an outraged Nemesis also,—the outrage being the disappearance of her temple. This has been proved by the proceedings which have emerged from another temple of Nemesis.

Declamationes 4.2.48.2-3:

πότερον οὖν, ὦ Τρῶες, εἶναι νομίζετε Πρόνοιαν καὶ Δίκην καὶ Νέμεσιν καὶ περινοστεῖν τὰ ἀνθρώπεια καὶ τοὺς μὲν χρηστοὺς ἐπαινεῖν τοῖς δὲ πονηροῖς ὀργίζεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀποδιδόναι χάριν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν εἰσπράττεσθαι δίκην;

Translation (Author):

Do you believe, O Trojans, that Forethought, Dike and Nemesis inspect human affairs and praise the good but become angered with the wicked, and give back to the ones favor but exact justice from others ?

Progymnasmata 2.10.2:

τούτων οἱ παῖδες πατράσι τιμωροῦνται καί ἐπελθόντες αἱροῦσι Θήβας, ἡγεῖται δὲ ὁ παῖς Ἀδράστου καὶ ἀναιρεῖται μόνος. τοῦ δὲ ἄρα ὁ πατὴρ μόνος τῶν ἑπτὰ λοχαγῶν ἀπεσώθη. ἔδοξε δὴ τοῦ δαιμονίου νεμεσήσαντος τοῦτο τῇδε γενέσθαι. καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἱερῷ τιμῶσι τὴν Νέμεσιν προσειπόντες Ἀδράστειαν τὴν θεόν.

Translation (Author):

The sons of these (the seven against Thebes) avenged their fathers, and attacking, captured Thebes. The son of Adrastos led the way and alone was killed. His father, alone of the seven commanders (of the earlier expedition), had survived. It seemed, indeed, that this came to be in this way as a result of daimonic indignation. And presently, the Greeks honor Nemesis in a sacred place, addressing the divine being as Adrasteia.

Martyrium Pionii (Fourth Century A.C. ?)
6.3.2-3:
καὶ ἵνα μάθητε ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐπερωτᾶσθαι ἀξιοῦμεν ἀλλὰ κρίναντες οὐκ εἰς τὸ Νεμεσεῖον ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν ἀπερχόμεθα,

Translation (Reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press from: Musurillo, H., *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972, 145):
(Pionius says:) Rather we have made our decision and are not going to the temple of Nemesis but to the public gaol.

7.2.1-2:
ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Πολέμων λέγει· Πιόνιε, εἰ μὴ θέλεις θῦσαι, κἀν ἐλθὲ εἰς τὸ Νεμεσεῖον.

Translation (Author):
Hearing these things Polemon said: "Pionius, if you do not wish to sacrifice, at least come to the temple of Nemesis".

15.2.1-2:
Ἴδε Εὐκτήμων ὁ προεστὼς ὑμῶν ἐπέθυσεν, πείσθητε καὶ ὑμεῖς· ἐρωτῶσιν ὑμᾶς Λέπιδος καὶ Εὐκτήμων ἐν τῷ Νεμεσείῳ.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press from: Musurillo, H., *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972,157):
(Polemon, Theophilus, and crowd to Christians:) Look, Euctemon, one of your leaders, offered sacrifice. So should you too be persuaded. Lepidus and Euctemon are asking for you in the temple of Nemesis.

18.13-14:
ἐλέγετο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ὅτι ἠξιώκει ὁ Εὐκτήμων ἀναγκασθῆναι ἡμᾶς, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸς ἀπήνεγκε τὸ οἴδιον εἰς τὸ Νεμεσεῖον, ὃ καὶ μετὰ φαγεῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὀπτηθὲν ἠθέλησεν ὅλον εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἀποφέρειν. ὡς ἐγκαταγέλαστον αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν ἐπιορκίαν γενέσθαι, ὅτι ὤμοσε τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τύχην καὶ τάς Νεμέσεις στεφανωθείς μὴ εἶναι Χριστιανὸς μηδὲ ὡς οἱ λοιποὶ παραλιπεῖν τι τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐξάρνησιν.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press from: Musurillo, H., *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972,160):
Later some said that Euctemon had decided to force our hand, and that he had brought a little lamb to the temple of Nemesis, and after it was roasted and he had eaten of it, he intended to bring all the rest back home. He had indeed become ridiculous through his false oath, wearing a crown and swearing by the emperor's Fortune and the Nemeseis that he was not a Christian and that, unlike the rest, he would omit nothing that would make clear the denial.

Servius (Fourth Century A.C.)
In Vergilium Commentarius A.4.520.1-8:
"Si quod non aequo foedere amantis curae numen habet" ordo est: tunc numen precatur, si quod curae habet amantes non aequo foedere. "Si quod" autem bene dubitat utrum etiam malae res habeant praepositas potestates; nam et amatoribus praeesse dicuntur Ἔρως, Ἀντέρως, Λυσέρως. non nulli Nemesin significari putant;

Translation (Author):
"If some divine power has care of the lover not mutually (loved)" next in order is: at that time the divine power is suplicated, (that is), if some (divine power) has care for lovers not mutually (in love). "If some"—She thoroughly doubts, however, whether evil matters can likewise possess preferable powers (presiding over them); now, on the other hand, Eros, Anteros and Luseros are said to preside over lovers. Several people believe it (namely, the divine power presiding over unrequited love) to signify Nemesis.

In Vergilium Commentarius A.7.337.2-4:
secundum Euripidem, in cuius tragoedia dicit furia, sed non esse unius potestatis, sed se Fortunam, se Nemesin, se Fatum, se esse Necessitatem.

Translation (Author):
According to Eurpides, in his tragedy, he says Fury is not a single power, but rather is Fortune, Nemesis, Fate, Necessity.

Fourth-Fifth Centuries A.C.
Claudian (Fourth-Fifth Century A.C.)
de Bello Gothico 631-32 (written 402 A.C.):
(Speaking of Roman victory over the Goths)
Sed dea quae nimiis obstat Rhamnusia votis

ingemuit flexitque rotam: domat aspera victos
pauperies, unoque die Romana rependit
quidquid ter denis acies amisimus annis.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Platnauer, M., *Claudian, Volume II*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1922, 4th Imp., 173):
But Nemesis, the goddess worshipped at Rhamnus, she whose pleasure it is to check unbridled desire, was wroth and turned her wheel; harsh poverty overwhelms the vanquished, and in one day Rome's arm requites all that we have lost in thirty years.

Eunapius (Late Fourth-Fifth Century A.C.)
Vitae Sophistarum (Maximus) 7.6.11.1:
ὁ δὲ παρῆλθε μὲν εἰς τὸ τῶν Νεμέσεων ἱερόν (καί τοί γε οὐδέποτε φήσας θεραπεύειν θεούς, ἀλλ' οὓς ἐκόλασεν, ἅπαντας διὰ τοῦτο ἀνῃρηκώς), παρελθῶν δὲ ὅμως, αὐτοῖς ὄναρ ἀπήγγειλε καὶ κατεδάκρυε τὴν ὄψιν διηγούμενος.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Wright, W.C., *Philostratus and Eunapius, The Lives of the Sophists*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921, 5th Imp., 459, 461):
Then Festus entered the temple of the Goddesses Nemesis, though he had never professed any reverence for the gods...(Festus, who had executed Maximus, goes on to relate to those present in the temple a dream that Maximus drags him down to Hades. He then prays to Nemesis, but upon leaving the temple falls dead.)

Fifth Century A.C.
Hesychius (Fifth Century A.C.)
Ῥαμνουσία[ν]·
Νέμεσις. ἐν Ῥαμνοῦντι Νεμέσεως ἵδρυτο ἄγαλμα δεκάπηχυ, ὁλόλιθον, ἔργον Φειδίου, ἔχον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ μηλέας κλάδον

Translation (Author):
Rhamnousia:
Nemesis. At Rhamnous was situated a statue of Nemesis ten measuring sticks high, made of a single block of stone, the work of Pheidias, holding in its hand an apple branch.

Macrobius (Fifth Century A.C.)
Saturnalia 1.22.1:
Et ut ad solis multiplicem potestatem revolvatur oratio, Nemesis quae contra superbiam colitur, quid aliud est quam solis potestas, cuius ista natura est, ut fulgentia obscuret et conspectui auferat quaeque sunt in obscuro inluminet offeratque conspectui.

Translation (Used by permission of the publisher from: Davies, P.V., *Macrobius, The Saturnalia,* N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1969, 147):
To return to our discussion of the manifold power of the sun, Nemesis, which we worship to keep us from pride, is none other than that power of the sun whose nature it is to make dark the things that are bright and withdraw them from our sight and to give light to things that are in darkness and bring them before our eyes.

Nonnus (Fifth Century A.C.)
Dionysiaca 15.418
"Βούτης καλὸς ὄλωλε, καλὴ δὲ μιν ἔκτανε κούρη. χαίρετέ μοι, σκοπιαί τε καὶ οὔρεα, χαίρετε, πηγαί, χαίρετε, Νηιάδες, καὶ ἐμαὶ δρύες." ἀμφότεροι δὲ Πὰν νόμιος καὶ Φοῖβος ἀνίαχον· "αὐλὸς ἀλάσθω. πῇ Νέμεσι; πῇ Κύπρις;
"Ἔρως, μὴ ψαῦε φαρέτρης·
σύριγξ, μηκέτι μέλπε· λιγύθροος ᾤλετο βούτης."

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Rouse, W.H.D., *Nonnos Dionysiaca, Volume I*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940, 4th Imp., 531, 533):
Animals groaning for slain oxherd:
"The handsome oxherd has perished, a handsome girl has killed him! Goodbye, mountains and promontories, goodbye, ye brooks, goodbye, Naiads, and my trees!" Both Pan of the pastures and Phoibos cried aloud, "A curse on the fife! Where is Nemesis? Where is Cypris? Eros, handle not your quiver; ye pipes, make music no more; the harmonious oxherd has perished."

Dionysiaca 16.264:
Τὴν μὲν ἰδὼν εὕδουσαν "Ἔρως ἐπεδείκνυε Βάκχῳ,
"Ὕμνον ἐποικτείρων· Νέμεσις δ' ἐγέλασσεν ἰδοῦσα.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Rouse, W.H.D., *Nonnos Dionysiaca, Volume II*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940, 4th Imp., 21, 23):
Eros espied her (the girl who had stolen Hymnos' heart) sleeping, and

pointed her out to Bacchos, pitying Hymnos; Nemesis laughed at the sight...

Dionysiaca 37.423:
Τοῖον ἀπερροίβδησεν ἀγήνορα μῦθον Ἀχάτης,
κερτομέων· Νέμεσις δὲ τόσην ἐγράψατο φωνήν.
καὶ σχεδὸν ἤλυθε φαῦνος ὁμήλυδα δίϙρον ἐλαύνων·
ἅρματι δ' ἅρμα πέλασσε, καὶ ἄξονι γόμφον ἀράσσων
μεσσοπαγῆ συνέαξε βαλὼν τροχοειδέι κύκλῳ·
καὶ τροχὸς αὐτοκύλιστος ἕλιξ ἐπεκέκλιτο γαίῃ,
ἅρμασιν Οἰνομάοιο πανείκελος, ὁππότε κηροῦ
θαλπομένου Φαέθοντι λυθεὶς ἀπατήλιος ἄξων
ἱπποσύνην ἀνέκοπτε μεμηνότος ἡνιοχῆος.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Rouse, W.H.D., *Nonnos Dionysiaca, Volume III*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940, 5th Imp., 67):
Such were the proud words that Achates shouted in mockery: but Nemesis recorded that big speech. Now Phaunos came close and drove alongside. Chariot struck chariot, and hitting the middle bolt with his axle he broke it with his rolling wheel—the other wheel rolled off by itself and fell twisting on the ground, as with the chariot of Oinomaos, when the wax of the false axle melted in Phaethon's heat and ended the horsemanship of that furious driver.

Dionysiaca 48.375-470:
καὶ καθαραῖς λαγόνεσσι τὸ δεύτερον ἥρμοσε μίτρην
ἀχωυμένη. Νέμεσιν δὲ μετήιεν· εὗρε δὲ κούρην
ὑψινεφῆ παρὰ Ταῦρον, ὅπῃ παρὰ γείτονι Κύδνῳ
παῦσε Τυφαονίης ὑψαύχενα κόμπον ἀπειλῆς·
καὶ τροχὸς αὐτοκύλιστος ἔην παρὰ ποσσὶν ἀνάσσης
σημαίνων, ὅτι πάντας ἀγήνορας εἰς πέδον ἕλκει
ὑψόθεν εἰλυφόωσα δίκης ποινήτορι κύκλῳ,
δαίμων πανδαμάτειρα, βίου στρωφῶσα πορείην·
ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ πεπότητο παρὰ θρόνον ὄρνις ἀλάστωρ,
γρὺψ πτερόεις, πισύρων δὲ ποδῶν κουφίζετο παλμῷ
δαίμονος ἱπταμένης αὐτάγγελος, ὅττι καὶ αὐτὴ
τέτραχα μοιρηθέντα διέρχεται ἕδρανα κόσμου·
ἀνέρας ὑψιλόφους ἀλύτῳ σφίγγουσα χαλινῷ,
ἀντίτυπον μίμημα, καὶ ὡς κακότητος ἱμάσθλῃ,
ὡς τροχὸν αὐτοκύλιστον, ἀγήωορα φῶτα κυλίνδει.
ἔγνω δ' ὡς ἐνόησε θεὰ χλοάοντι προσώπῳ

Ἄρτεμιν ἀχνυμένην φονίης πλήθουσαν ἀπειλῆς,
καί μιν ἀνειρομένη φιλίῳ μειλίξατο μύθῳ·
"Σὸν χόλον, ἰοχέαιρα, τεαὶ βοόωσιν ὀπωπαί·
Ἄρτεμι, τίς κλονέει σε θεημάχος υἱὸς Ἀρούρης;
τίς πάλιν ἐβλάστησεν ὑπὲρ δαπέδοιο Τυφωεύς;
μὴ Τιτυὸς παλίνορσος ἐρωμανὲς ὄμμα τιταίνων
εἵματος ἀψαύστοιο τεῆς ἔψαυσε τεκούσης;
Ἄρτεμι, πῇ σέο τόξα καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ὀιστοί;
τίς πάλιν Ὠρίων σε βιάζεται; εἰσέτι κεῖται
κεῖνος, ὃς ὑμετέροιο τάλας ἔψαυσε χιτῶνος,
μητρὸς ἔσω λαγόνων νέκυς ἄπνοος· εἰ δέ τις ἀνὴρ
χερσὶ ποθοβλήτοισι τεῶν ἐδράξατο πέπλων,
σκορπίον ἄλλον ἄεξε τεῆς ποινήτορα μίτρης·
εἰ δὲ πάλιν θρασὺς Ὦτος ἢ αὐχήεις Ἐφιάλτης
συζυγίην μενέαινε τεῶν ἀκίχητον Ἐρώτων,
κτεῖνον ἀνυμφεύτοιο τεῆς μνηστῆρα κορείης·
εἰ δὲ γυνὴ πολύτεκνος ἀνιάζει σέο Λητώ,
ἄλλη λαϊνέη Νιόβη κλαύσειε γενέθλην·
τίς φθόνος, εἰ λίθον ἄλλον ὑπὲρ Σιπύλοιο τελέσσω;
μή σε πατὴρ διὰ λέκτρα μετὰ γλαυκῶπιν ὀρίνει;
μὴ τεὸν Ἑρμάωνι γάμον κατένευσε Κρονίων,
οἷα καὶ Ἡφαίστῳ καθαρῆς ὑμέναιον Ἀθήνης;
εἰ δὲ γυνὴ κλονέει σε, τεὴν ἅτε μητέρα Λητώ,
ἔσσομαι ἀχωυμένης τιμήορος ἰοχεαίρης."...
"Παρθένε πανδαμάτειρα, κυβερνήτειρα γενέθλης,...
"Λητῴη φυγόδεμνε, κυνοσσόε, σύγγονε Φοίβου,
οὐ μὲν ἐμῷ δρεπάνῳ Τιτηνίδα παῖδα δαμάσσω,
οὐδέ μιν ἐν Φρυγίῃ τελέσω πετρώδεα νύμφην,
Τιτήνων γεγαυῖα παλαίτατον αἷμα καὶ αὐτή,
μή ποτέ μοι μέμψαιτο πατὴρ Λήλαντος ἀκούων·
ἓν δέ σοι, ιοχέαιρα, χαρίζομαι· ἀγρότις Αὔρη
παρθενικὴν ἤλεγξε, καὶ οὐκέτι παρθένος ἔσται·
καί μιν ἐσαθρήσειας ὀρεσσιχύτου διὰ κόλπου
δάκρυσι πηγαίοισιν ὀδυρομένην ἔτι μίτρην."
Εἶπε παρηγορέουσα· καὶ οὔρεα κάλλιπε κούρη
Ἄρτεμις ἑζομένη κεμάδων τετράζυγι δίφρῳ,
καὶ Φρυγίης ἐπέβαινεν. ὁμοζήλῳ δὲ πορείῃ
παρθένος Ἀδρήστεια μετήιε δύσμαχον Αὔρην,
γρῦπας ἁμιλλητῆρας ὑποζεύξασα χαλινῷ·
καὶ ταχινὴ πεφόρητο δι' ἠέρος ὀξέι δίφρῳ,
καὶ δρόμον ἐστήριξεν ὑπὲρ Σιπύλοιο καρήνων
Ταντα λίδος προπάροιθε λιθογλήνοιο προσώπου,

πτηνῶν τετραπόδων σκυλιοὺς σφίγγουσα χαλινούς.
Αὔρης δ' ἐγγὺς ἵκανεν ἀγήνορος· ὑψίνοον δὲ
αὐχένα δειλαίης ὀφιώδεϊ τύψεν ἱμάσθλῃ,
καί μιν ἀωεστυφέλιξε δίκης τροχοειδέι κύκλῳ,
καὶ νόον ἄφρονα κάμψεν ἀκαμπέος· ἀμφὶ δὲ μίτρην
παρθενικῆς ἐλέλιζεν ἐχιδνήεσσαν ἱμάσθλην
Ἀργολὶς Ἀδρήστεια· χαριζομένη δὲ θεαίνῃ,
καὶ μάλα περ κοτέοντι κασιγνήτῳ Διονύσῳ,
ὥπλισεν ἄλλον ἔρωτα, καὶ εἰ πέλε νῆις Ἐρώτων,
Παλλήνης μετὰ λέκτρα, μετὰ φθιμένην Ἀριάδνην,
τὴν μὲν λειπομένην ἐνὶ πατρίδι, τὴν δ' ἐνὶ γαίῃ
ἀλλοτρίῃ πετραῖον, Ἀχαιίδος ὥς βρέτας Ἥρης,
καὶ Βερόης πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀνηνύστων περὶ λέκτρων.
  καὶ Νέμεσις πεπότητο νιφοβλήτῳ παρὰ Ταύρῳ,
εἰσόκε Κύδνον ἵκανε τὸ δεύτερον.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Rouse, W.H.D., *Nonnos Dionysiaca, Volume III*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940, 5th Imp., 451, 453, 455, 457, 459):

She (Artemis offended by Aura's arrogant speech) betook herself to Nemesis, and found her on the heights of Tauros in the clouds, where beside neighbour Cydnos she had ended the proudnecked boasting of Typhon's threats. A wheel turned itself round before the queen's feet, signifying that she rolls all the proud from on high to the ground with the avenging wheel of justice, she the allvanquishing deity who turns the path of life. Round her throne flew a bird of vengeance, a griffin flying with wings, or balancing himself on four feet, to go unbidden before the flying goddess and show that she herself traverses the four separate quarters of the world: highcrested men she bridles with her bit which none can shake off, such is the meaning of the image, and she rolls a haughty fellow about as it were with the whip of misery, like a self-rolling wheel. When the goddess beheld Artemis with pallid face, she knew that she was offended and full of deadly threatenings, and questioned her in friendly words:

"Your looks, Archeress, proclaim your anger. Artemis, what impious son of Earth persecutes you ? What second Typhoeus has sprung up from the ground ? Has Tityos risen again rolling a lovemad eye, and touched the robe of your untouchable mother ? Where is your bow, Artemis, where are Apollo's arrows ? What Orion is using force against you once more ? The wretch that touched your dress still lies in his mother's flanks, a lifeless corpse; if any man has clutched your garments with lustful hands, grow another scorpion to avenge your girdle. If bold Otos again, or boastful

Ephialtes, has desired to win your love so far beyond his reach, then slay the pretender to your unwedded virginity. If some prolific wife provokes your mother Leto, let her weep for her children, another Niobe of stone. Why should not I make another stone on Sipylos ? Is your father pestering you to marry as he did with Athena ? Surely Cronion has not promised you to Hermes for a wife, as he promised pure Athena to Hephaistos in wedlock ? But if some woman is persecuting you as one did to your mother Leto, I will be the avenger of the offended Archeress."...

"Virgin allvanquishing, guide of creation"...(Artemis goes on to explain her problem and ask for punishment of Aura)...

"Chaste daughter of Leto, huntress, sister of Phoibos, I will not use my sickle to chastise a Titan girl, I will not make the maiden a stone in Phrygia, for I am myself born of the ancient race of Titans, and her father Lelantos might blame me when he heard: but one boon I will grant you, Archeress. Aura the maid of the hunt has reproached your virginity, and she shall be a virgin no longer. You shall see her in the bed of a mountain stream weeping fountains of tears for her maiden girdle."

So she consoled her; and Artemis the maiden entered her car with its team of four prickets, left the mountain and drove back to Phrygia. With equal speed the maiden Adrasteia pursued her obstinate enemy Aura. She had harnessed racing grffins under her bridle; quick through the air she coursed in the swift car, until she tightened the curving bits of her fourfooted birds, and drew up on the peak of Sipylos in front of the face of Tantalos's daughter with eyeballs of stone. Then she approached the haughty Aura. She flicked the proud neck of the hapless girl with her snaky whip, and struck her with the round wheel of justice, and bent the foolish mind of the unbendable. Argive Adrasteia let the whip with its vipers curl around the maiden's girdle, doing pleasure to Artemis and to Dionysos while he was still indignant; and although she was herself unacquainted with love, she prepared another love, after the bed of Pallene, after the loss of Ariadne—one was left in her own country, one was a stone in a foreign land like the statue of Achaian Hera—and more than all for the ill success with Beroe's bed.

Nemesis now flew back to snowbeaten Tauros until she reached Cydnos again.

Fifth-Sixth Centuries A.C.

Damascius (Late Fifth to Mid-Sixth Century A.C.)

In Phaedonem 404.1(On 95b.5-6):

ὅτι ἡ Νέμεσις, θεὸς οὖσα κολουστικὴ τῆς τῶν ψυχῶν ἀμετρίας καὶ διαφανέστερον νεμεσῶσα τοῖς ὑπεραύχοις διὰ τὸ τοὺς ταπεινοὺς μᾶλλον συναισθάνεσθαι τῆς οἰκείας ἀμετρίας, εἰκότως ἐπ’ ἐσχάτοις δαίμονας συνεστήσατο φθονεροὺς καὶ βασκάνους, οἳ καὶ ταῖς τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐνεργείαις βασκαίνουσιν, ὅσοι ἔτι φιλοσοφεῖν πειρῶνται, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἱερατικῆς ἁπτομένοις. ὁ δ' οὖν Σωκράτης εὐλαβεῖται τὸ βάσκανον γένος διὰ τοὺς ἑταίρους.

Translation (Reprinted with permission of the publisher from: Westerink, L.G., *Greek Commentaries on Plato's Phaedo, Volume II*, Amsterdam: Elsevier Science Publishers, 1977, 216):
Nemesis is the Goddess who curbs the excesses of the soul, and her wrath more manifestly visits the boastful, because the humble are more clearly aware where they fall short of the standard; in the lowest regions she must obviously have created jealous, malicious demons, who exert a baleful influence even on seekers for truth, so long as they are still trying to find their way to wisdom, as well as on those who follow the hieratic art. As for Socrates, he is wary of this malicious brood at least for the sake of his disciples.

John Laurentius Lydus (490-565 A.C.)
De Mensibus 1.12:
καὶ ἄλλως δέ πως ἡ πυραμὶς ἁρμοδία ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις· Νεμέσεως γὰρ εἶναι νομίζεται.

Translation (Author):
And in some other way the pyramis is fitting in the eyes of the competitors: for it is believed to belong to Nemesis.

John Malalas (c.491-578 A.C.)
Chronographica 307:
ἔκτισε δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σταδίῳ Δάφνης ἱερὸν Ὀλυμπίου Διός, καὶ ἐν τῇ σφενδόνῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σταδίου ἔκτισεν ἱερὸν τῇ Νεμέσει.

Translation (Reprinted with permission of the publisher from: Jeffreys, E., et al., *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986, 167):
He also built a temple of Olympian Zeus in the stadium at Daphne, and at the curved end of the stadium he built a temple to Nemesis.

Stephanus (Fifth-Sixth Century A.C.)
Ethnica 28.4-6:
<Ἀδράστεια,> μεταξὺ Πριάπου καὶ τοῦ Παρίου, ἀπὸ Ἀδράστου βασιλέως, ὃς καὶ πρῶτος ἱδρύσατο τὸ Νεμέσεως ἱερόν.

Translation (Author):
Adrasteia: Between Priapon and Parion, (named) from King Adrastos, who first erected the temple to Nemesis.

Sixth Century A.C.
Agathias Scholasticus (c.531-580 A.C.)
Anthologia Graeca Book V.273:

ἡ πάρος ἀγλαΐησι μετάρσιος, ἡ πλοκαμῖδας
  σειομένη πλεκτὰς, καὶ σοβαρευομένη,
ἡ μεγαλαυχήσασα καθ' ἡμετέρης μελεδώνης,
  γήραϊ ῥικώδης, τὴν πρὶν ἀφῆκε χάριν.
μαζὸς ὑπεκλίνθη, πέσον ὀφρύες, ὄμμα τέτηκται,
  χείλεα βαμβαίνει φθέγματι γηραλέῳ.
τὴν πολιὴν καλέω Νέμεσιν πόθου, ὅττι δικάζει
  ἔννομα, ταῖς σοβαραῖς θᾶσσον ἐπερχομένη.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume I*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916, 8th Imp., 271):
She who once held herself so high in her beauty, and used to shake her plaited tresses in her pride, she who used to vaunt herself proof against my doleful passion, is now old and wrinkled and her charm is gone. Her breasts are pendent and her eyebrows are fallen, the fire of her eyes is dead and her speech is trembling and senile. I call grey hairs the Nemesis of Love, because they judge justly, coming soonest to those who are proudest.

Paulus Silentiarius (c.560 A.C.)
Anthologia Graeca Book V.300:

ὁ θρασὺς ὑψαύχην τε, καὶ ὀφρύας εἰς ἓν ἀγείρων
  κεῖται παρθενικῆς παίγνιον ἀδρανέος·
ὁ πρὶν ὑπερβασίῃ δοκέων τὴν παῖδα χαλέπτειν,
  αὐτὸς ὑποδμηθεὶς ἐλπίδος ἐκτὸς ἔβη.
καὶ ῥ' ὁ μὲν ἱκεσίοισι πεσὼν θηλύνεται οἴκτοις·
  ἡ δὲ κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἄρσενα μῆνιν ἔχει.
παρθένε θυμολέαινα, καὶ εἰ χόλοω ἔνδικον αἶθες,
  σβέσσον ἀγηνορίην, ἐγγὺς ἴδες Νέμεσιν.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume I*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916, 8th Imp., 289):
He who was so confident and held his head so high and gathered his brow, lies low now, the plaything of a feeble girl; he who thought formerly to

crush the child with his overbearing manner, is himself subdued and has lost his hope. He now falls on his knees and supplicates and laments like a girl, while she has the angry look of a man. Lion-hearted maid, though thou burnest with just anger, quench thy pride; so near hast thou looked on Nemesis.

Theaetetus Scholasticus (Sixth Century A.C.)
Anthologia Graeca Book XVI.221:

Εἰς τὴν Ἀθηναίων Νέμεσιν
Χιονέην με λίθον παλιναυξέος ἐκ περιωπῆς
λαοτύπος τμήξας πετροτόμοις ἀκίσι
Μῆδος ἐποντοπόρευσεν, ὅπως ἀνδρείκελα τεύξῃ,
τῆς κατ' Ἀθηναίων σύμβολα καμμονίης.
ὡς δὲ δαϊζομένοις Μαραθὼν ἀντέκτυπε Πέρσαις
καὶ νέες ὑγροπόρουν χεύμασιν αἱμαλέοις,
ἔξεσαν Ἀδρήστειαν ἀριστώδινες Ἀθῆναι,
δαίμον' ὑπερφιάλοις ἀντίπαλον μερόπων.
ἀντιταλαντεύω τὰς ἐλπίδας· εἰμὶ δὲ καὶ νῦν
Νίκη Ἐρεχθείδαις, Ἀσσυρίοις Νέμεσις.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume V*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918, 6th Imp., 291):

On the Nemesis of the Athenians

I am a white stone which the Median sculptor quarried with his stone-cutter's tools from the mountain where rocks grow again, and he bore me across the sea to make of me images, tokens of victory over the Athenians. But when Marathon resounded with the Persian rout, and the ships voyaged on bloody waves, Athens, the mother of beautiful works, carved of me Adrasteia, the goddess who is the foe of arrogant men. I counter-balance vain hopes, and I am still a Victory to the Athenians, a Nemesis to the Assyrians.

Ninth Century A.C.
Photius (c.858 A.C.)
Bibliotheca 187.144a.33-34:
(Taken from Nikomachos of Gerasa)

Ἀνεικία γὰρ ἡ πεντὰς καὶ Ἀλλοίωσις καὶ Φάος καὶ Δικαιοσύνη, καὶ ἐλαχίστη ἀκρότης τῆς ζωότητος, καὶ Νέμεσις, καὶ Βουβάστια καὶ Δίκησις καὶ Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Γαμηλία καὶ Ἀνδρογυνία, καὶ Κυθέρεια, καί Ζωναία, καὶ Κυκλιοῦχος, καὶ Ἁμίθεος, καὶ Ζανὸς πύργος, καὶ Διδυμαία, καὶ Ἄξων ἑδραία.

Translation (Author):
For the pentad is, in effect, Reconciliation and Differentiation, Light and Justice, and the most narrow point of vitality, and Nemesis, and Boubastia and Vengeance and Aphrodite and Wedding Feast and Androgyne, and Kythereia, and gods who preside over the planetary spheres, and the gods who govern the cycles, and the Demi-God, and Tower of Zeus, and the Didymaian, and the Fixed Axis.

Bibliotheca 244.382a.16-17:
(From Diodorus Siculus)
Καὶ πέρας ἐν ταύταις ἂν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον εἰ μὴ Μάρκος Αἰμίλιος προκαθήμενος τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, τηρῶν τό τε περὶ αὑτὶν ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιεικές, παρῄνεσε τῇ συγκλήτῳ σχετλιάζων, εἰ μὴ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον φόβον εὐλαβοῦνται, τήν γε τοὺς ὑπερηφάνως ταῖς ἐξουσίαις χρωμένους μετερχομένην Νέμεσιν αἰδεῖσθαι.

Translation (Author):
And finally, he (Perseus, King of Macedon) would have overturned his life in these constraints had not Marcus Aemilius, the president of the Senate, observing his own dignity and the fair character of his country, addressed the Senate, complaining indignantly, if they do not honor human fear, at least to respect Nemesis who pursues those behaving arrogantly in matters of power.

Tenth Century A.C.

Suida (Tenth Century A.C.)
Lexicon
Νέμεσις·
ἣ δίκη. Ἀριστοφάνης· ἰὼ Νέμεσι, βαρύβρομοί τε βρονταί (actually Euripides Phoeniss. 182)
μέμψις, δίκη, ὕβρις, φθόνος, τύχη.
τὴν τῶν ἀλαζόνων τιμωρὸν συνέντες Νέμεσιν, ἥπερ αὐτοὺς μετῆλθε σύν τῇ δίκῃ. καὶ αὖθις· οὐκ ἔλαθε τὴν ἅπασιν ἐναντιουμένην τοῖς ὑπερηφάνοις Νέμεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἠναγκάσθη παιδευθῆναι συμφοραῖς. παρῆν δ' ἡ Νέμεσις, ἣ τὰ γῆς ἐποπτεύει· ἢ καὶ ἄλλως, ἣ τἄδικ' ἐποπτεύει. Βάβριός φησιν ἐν Μυθικοῖς. καὶ Αἰλιανός· Νεμέσεως ἐφόρου, τρόπους ὑπερόπτας καὶ ὑπερηφάνους κολαζούσης, ἐναργῆ μαρτύρια. καὶ Παροιμία· Νέμεσις δέ γε πὰρ πόδας βαίνει· παρόσον μέτεισι ταχέως ἡ δαίμων τοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας. λήθουσα δὲ πὰρ πόδας βαίνεις, γαυρούμενον αὐχένα κλίνεις, ὑπὸ πῆχυν ἀεὶ βιοτὰν κρατεῖς.

Translation (Author with the contribution of Ippokratis Kantzios):
Nemesis:

Justice. Aristophanes: "O Nemesis, and loud-roaring thunders"
Blame, justice, hybris, envy, fortune.
They posit Nemesis as avenger of the boastful, the very one who pursued them with justice. And again: he did not escape the notice of Nemesis who is adverse to all arrogant men, but was forced to be educated by his own misfortunes. Nemesis was present, who oversees the things of the earth; or otherwise, who oversees the unjust. Babrius says in his Mythikoi. And Aelian: clear evidence of the rule of Nemesis is the chastising of disdainful and arrogant characters. And Proverb: Nemesis comes in an instant; in as much as the daimon swiftly pursues the sinful. And you come unnoticed in an instant, you make bow the insolent neck, you always keep life under your measuring stick.

Ῥαμνουσία Νέμεσις·
αὕτη πρῶτον ἀφίδρυτο ἐν Ἀφροδίτης| σχήματι· δυὸ καὶ κλάδον εἶχε μηλέας. ἱδρύσατο δὲ αὐτὴν Ἐρεχθεύς,| μητέρα ἑαυτοῦ οὖσαν, ὀνομαζομένην δὲ Νέμεσιν καὶ βασιλεύσασαν ἐν| τῷ τόπῳ. Τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα Φειδίας ἐποίησεν· οὗ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἐχαρί|σατο Ἀγορακρίτῳ τῷ Παρίῳ ἐρωμένῳ.

Translation (Author):
Rhamnousian Nemesis:
This was first set up in the form of Aphrodite; and she held two apple sprays. Erechtheus erected her, being his own mother, and being named Nemesis, and ruling in the place. Pheidias made the statue, from whose inscription was he gave as a gift to Agorakritos the Parian, his beloved.

Twelfth Century A.C.

Eustathius (Twelfth Century A.C.)
Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem Pertinentes 1.437.24-25 (on Iliad Chapter B, vs. 547-556):
Ῥαμνοῦς
δὲ τὸ τῆς Νεμέσεως ξόανον μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει κατωρθωμένον καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Φειδίου ἐνάμιλλον·

Translation (Contributed by Ippokratis Kantzios):
Rhamnous:
(Where) the cult image of Nemesis had been successfully executed in terms of size and beauty, and a match for those made by Pheidias.

Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem Pertinentes 1.557.3-29 (on Iliad Chapter B, vs. 828-829):
ἔχων πλευράς, Ἀδράστεια πόλις ἀπὸ Ἀδράστου βασιλέως, ὃς πρῶτος ἱδρύσατο

Νεμέσεως ἱερόν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ ἡ χώρα Ἀδράστεια. Οἱ δὲ Ἀδράστειαν τὴν πόλιν κληθῆναι ἀπὸ Ἀδραστείας, μιᾶς τῶν Ὀρεστιάδων νυμφῶν. ἔστι δέ, φησί, καὶ τόπος Τρωάδος Ἀδράστεια ἀπὸ Ἀδραστείας, θυ|γατρὸς Μελίσσου, υἱοῦ Ἴδης τῆς πρῶτον βασιλευσάσης ἐν Τροίᾳ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὗτος συμφωνήσας τῷ Στράβωνι ἐν πολλοῖς. ἐκεῖνος δὲ λέγει καί, ὅτι, ὥσπερ Θήβη καὶ Θήβης πεδίον, οὕτω καὶ Ἀδράστεια καὶ Ἀδραστείας πεδίον διττῶς καὶ ὅτι ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὔτε Νεμέσεως οὔτε Ἀδραστείας ἱερὸν δείκνυται, περὶ δὲ Κύζικον Ἀδραστείας ἱερόν. γράφει οὖν, φησίν, Ἀντίμαχος οὕτω· "ἔστι δέ τις Νέμεσις, μεγάλη θεός, ἣ τάδε πάντα πρὸς μακάρων ἔλαχε, βωμὸν δὲ οἱ εἵσατο", ἤγουν ἵδρυσε, "πρῶτος Ἄδρηστος ποταμοῖο παρὰ ῥόον Αἰσήποιο· ἔνθα τετίμηταί τε καὶ Ἀδρήστεια καλεῖται". καὶ οὕτω μὲν καὶ ὁ Γεωγράφος. Ἕτεροι δὲ οὐκ ἰδίᾳ μὲν Ἀδρήστειάν φασιν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ Νέμεσιν, οὐδὲ Ἄδρηστον τοῦτον οἴδασιν αἴτιον τοῦ τῆς Ἀδρηστείας ταύτης ὀνόματος, ἀλλὰ Νέμεσιν Ἀδράστειαν λέγοντες, Ἄδραστον αἰτιῶνται τῆς παροιμίας ταύτης, ὃν Σικυῶνι πρῶτα ἐμβασιλεύειν ὁ ποιητὴς πρὸ τούτου ἱστόρησε, καὶ τὴν μὲν Νέμεσιν ὡς εἰς κύριον τιθέασιν ὄνομα, τὴν δὲ Ἀδράστειαν ὡς εἰς ἐπίθετον, καὶ βούλονται εἶναι. Ἀδράστειαν τὴν οἰκονομησαμένην παραδόξως τὰ κατὰ τὸν τοιοῦτον Ἄδραστον, οὗ μόνου τῶν ἡγεμόνων διασεθέντος ἐκ τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ πολέμου ἐνεμέσησε τὸ θεῖον, καὶ γοῦν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγόνοις τῶν ἐν Θήβαις πεσόντων ἀρχηγῶν Διομήδης μὲν καὶ Σθένελος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ περιεγένοντο, μόνος δὲ ὁ ἐξ Ἀδράστου πέπτωκε, καὶ οὕτω κατά τι δίκαιον ἀνισώθη τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκεῖ ἐλλελεῖφθαι πρὸς τῆς Νεμέσεως καὶ ἐκλήθη αὕτη ἐντεῦθεν Ἀδράστεια. Ἕτεροι δὲ τὴν Νέμεσιν ἀδράστειαν εἶπον καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ τῆς θείας δίκης ἀναπόδραστον ἤτοι ἄφυκτον· Παυσανίας δέ φησιν, ὅτι τὴν Ἀδράστειαν ἑτέραν τῆς Νεμέσεως ὑποτίθενταί τινες, οἱ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν τῇ Νεμέσει ἀπὸ Ἀδράστου, ὅτι μόνος τῶν ἐπτὰ σωθεὶς μόνος πάλιν τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέβαλεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγόνοις· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀδράστου, φησί, Μυσοῦ ἱδρυ|σαμένου αὐτῆς ἱερόν.

Translation (Contributed by Ippokratis Kantzios):
Having sides. Adrasteia the city named from Adrastos the king, who first erected a temple of Nemesis. And the country, too, was called Adrasteia. Some (say) that the city Adrasteia took its name from Adrasteia, one of the Orestiad nymphs. There is also, he says, an area of Troy called Adrasteia from Adrasteia, daughter of Melissos, son of Ida, who first became queen in Troy. And (he says) these things agreeing in many points with Strabo. And he says that just as there is Thebe and the Plain of Thebe, so too there is doubly Adrasteia and the Plain of Adrasteia, and that here there is neither a temple of Nemesis nor of Adrasteia, but there is a temple of Adrasteia close to Kyzikos. Thus, he says, records Antimachos : "There is a Nemesis, a great goddess, who has received all these things as a portion from the gods. It was Adrestos who first built", that is, erected "an altar to her next to the stream of the river Aisepos; where she is honored and called Adresteia". So states also the Geographer. Others say that Adrasteia does not have her own

distinct identity, but Nemesis does, nor do they know this Adrastos to be the reason of the name of this Adrasteia, but calling Nemesis Adrasteia, they blame Adrastos for this proverb, (Adrastos) whom the poet, before his passage, recorded that he first reigned at Sikyon. And they put Nemesis as her main name and Adrasteia as the epithet, and they want Adrasteia to be the one who managed in a peculiar way the affairs of this paticular Adrastos, whom, the only survivor of the leaders of the Theban war, the Divine resented. And, among the descendants of the leaders fallen in the Theban war, Diomedes and Sthenelos and the rest survived but only thedescendant of Adrastos fell. Thus, in some way, justice wasresored (lit. equalized), which seemed to have been left undone by Nemesis there, and from then on she was called Adrasteia. Others said that Nemesis is called "adrasteia" on account of the inescapability of divine justice, that is, inability to flee. Pausanias says that some suppose Adrasteia to be different from Nemesis; others, the sames as Nemesis, called from Adrastos, because he, having survived alone among the Seven, alone, again, lost (lit. thrw away) his son, among the Epigonoi. Others say, he says, (the name is) from Adrastos the Mysian, who erected her temple.

Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem Pertinentes 3.168.27-29 (on Iliad Chapter L, vs. 126-147):
Λέγουσι δὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ καί, ὅτι Νεμέσεως ἔργον τὸ τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος περιπεσεῖν τῷ τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος ἀδελφῷ, ὃς διὰ φιλαδελφίαν οἰκτρῶς κολάζει τοὺς ἐπιβούλους τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ.

Translation (Contributed by Ippokratis Kantzios):
The ancients say that it is also the work of Nemesis that the children of him who has been ujust meet with evil at the hands of the brother of him who has been treated unjustly, who, on account of his love for his brother, punishes miserably those who plotted against his brother.

Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem Pertinentes 3.290.14-16 (on Iliad Chapter L, vs. 644-654):
Ὅτι ἐν τῷ "αἰδοῖος, νεμεσητός, ὅ", ἤγουν ὅς, "με προέηκε πυθέσθαι" τόδε τι, ἃ δὴ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ ὁ Πάτροκλος ἐπιμαρτύρεται, νεμεσητός ἐστι κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἢ ὁ ἑκάστῳ τὸ δέον ἀπονέμων, ὅθεν καὶ Νέμεσις ἥ τε τοῦ μύθου καὶ ἡ ἀλληγορουμένη, ἢ ὁ ἑτοιμομεμφὴς ἢ φιλομεμφὴς καὶ μεμψίμοιρος.

Translation (Contributed by Ippokratis Kantzios):
That in the (passage) "revered, quick to blame is he who"—that is to say the one who— "sent me to find out" it is something like this (these things which Patroklos indeed testifies are present in Achilleus) "quick to blame"

according to the ancients is either the assigning to each what is proper, from which comes Nemesis too, both the Nemesis of myth and the allegorized one, or the one ready to blame or enjoying blame and finding fault.

Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem Pertinentes 4.61.4-5:
Τὸ δὲ, σέβας δέ σε θυμὸν ἱκέσθω, ἤγουν αἰδὼς ἢ Νέμεσις ἢ ἔκπληξις, περιφράζει μὲν τὸ σεβάσθητι.

Translation (Contributed by Ippokratis Kantzios):
And regarding the expression "let reverence come into your heart"—that is, shame or Nemesis or consternation—it is a periphrasis for "show reverence".

Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem Pertinentes 4.313.15-19:
λέγων διὰ τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὰ Κύπρια, ὅτι Διοσκούρους καὶ Ἑλένην ἡ Νέμεσις ἔτεκεν, ἣ διωκομένη, φησὶν, ὑπὸ Διὸς μετεμορφοῦτο. κύριον δὲ πάντως ἐνταῦθα ἡ Νέμεσις, οὐ μὴν ἡ ψυχικὴ ποιότης, καθ' ἣν εἴρηται τὸ, μή μοι νέμεσις θεόθεν καταπνεύσῃ, ἤγουν μή με νεμεσήσῃ τὸ θεῖον.

Translation (Contributed by Ippokratis Kantzios):
Saying on account of the one who wrote the Kypria that Nemesis bore the Dioskouroi and Helen; she, he says, was pursued by Zeus and transformed. Decisive at any rate here, Nemesis is surely not the spiritual quality, about which it is said "let no just resentment be blown upon me from the gods", that is to say "let not the divine feel just resentment at me".

Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem Pertinentes 4.373.14-15:
Ὅτι ὁ παραιτούμενος Νέμεσιν ἐφ' οἷς οἰκτίζεται νεκρὸν ἐχθροῦ φίλου τεθνεῶτος, ἐρεῖ ἂν κατὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα μικρὸν παρῳδήσας, μή μοι, ὦ δεῖνα σκυδμαινέμεν, αἴ κε πύθῃαι εἰν Ἄιδός περ ἐὼν, ὅτι ἐσπεισάμην τῷ δεῖνι.

Translation (Contributed by Ippokratis Kantzios):
That the one seeking favor of Nemesis because (?) he pities the body of his enemy, although his friend is dead, would say, parodying Achilles a little, "O so-and so do not be angry with me if you learn, although being in Hades, that I made peace with such a one".

Scoliast on Lycophron 88 (Twelfth Century A.C.)
Ζεὺς γὰρ ὁμοιωθεὶς κύκνῳ μίγνυται Νεμέσει τῇ Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατρὶ εἰς χῆνα, ὡς ληροῦσιν, αὐτὴν μεταβαλών. Ἡ δὲ τεκοῦσα ᾠὸν ἐν τῷ ἕλει τοῦτο κατέλιπε. ποιμὴν δὲ τὶς εὑρὼν τῇ Λήδᾳ κομίζει. Ἡ δὲ λάρνακι θεμένη ἐφύλαττε. Χρόνῳ δὲ τῷ καθήκοντι Ἑλένη γεννᾶται ἐκ τοῦ ᾠοῦ, ἣν ὡς ἰδίαν παῖδα ἡ Λήδα ἀνέτρεφε.

τινὲς δὲ καὶ Κάστορα καὶ Πολυδεύκην ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φασὶν ὠοῦ γεννεθῆναι.

Translation (Author):
For Zeus, taking the form of a swan, had intercourse with Nemesis, the daughter of Oceanus, having changed her into a goose, as they say foolishly. She bore an egg and left it in the marsh. A herdsman upon finding it took it to Leda. Placing it in a box, she guarded it. At the proper time Helen was born from the egg, whom Leda raised as her own daughter. Some say that Castor and Polydeuces were born from the same egg.

Uncertain Dates

Anthologia Graeca

Book VI.283 (Anonymous; Hellenistic—Meleager context):
ἥ τὸ πρὶν αὐχήσασα πολυχρύσοις ἐπ' ἐρασταῖς,
  ἥ Νέμεσιν δεινὴν οὐχὶ κύσασα θεόν,
μίσθια νῦν σπαθίοις πενιχροῖς πηνίσματα κρούει.
  ὀψέ γ' Αθηναίη Κύπριν ἐληίσατο.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume I*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916, 8th Imp., 451):
She who formerly boasted of her wealthy lovers and never bowed the knee to Nemesis, the dread goddess, now weaves on a poor loom cloth she is paid for. Late in the day hath Athena despoiled Cypris.

Book VII.358 (Anonymous sepulchral epitaph):
Ἐκτανες, εἶτά μ' ἔθαπτες, ἀτάσθαλε, χερσὶν ἐκείναις,
  αἷς με διεχρήσω· μή σε λάθοι Νέμεσιν.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume II*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917, 7th Imp., 193):
Wretch! You killed and then buried me with those hands that slew me. May you not escape Nemesis.

Book IX.146 (Anonymous):
Ἐλπίδα καὶ Νέμεσιν Εὔνους παρὰ βωμὸν ἔτευξα,
  τὴν μέν, ἵν' ἐλπίζῃς· τὴν δ', ἵνα μηδὲν ἔχῃς.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume III*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917, 7th Imp., 75):

I, Eunus, have set up Elpis and Nemesis by the altar, the one in order that thou mayst hope, the other that thou mayst get nothing.

Book X.123 (Aesop: ?):

Πῶς τις ἄνευ θανάτου σε φύγοι, βίε; μυρία γάρ σευ
  λυγρά· καὶ οὔτε φυγεῖν εὐμαρές, οὔτε φέρειν.
ἡδέα μὲν γάρ σου τὰ φύσει καλά, γαῖα, θάλασσα,
  ἄστρα, σεληναίης κύκλα καὶ ἠελίου·
τἄλλα δὲ πάντα φόβοι τε καὶ ἄλγεα· κἤν τι πάθῃ τις
  ἐσθλόν, ἀμοιβαίην ἐκδέχεται Νέμεσιν.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume IV*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918, rev. 1971, 8th Imp., 63):
Life, how shall one escape thee without death; for thou hast a myriad ills and neither to fly from them nor to bear them is easy. Sweet are thy natural beauties, the earth, the sea, the stars, the orbs of the sun and moon. But all the rest is fear and pain, and if some good befall a man, an answering Nemesis succeeds it.

Book XII.140 (Anonymous; Hellenistic—Meleager context):

Τὸν καλὸν ὡς ἴδομαν Ἀρχέστρατον, οὐ μὰ τὸν Ἑρμᾶν,
  οὐ καλὸν αὐτὸν ἔφαν· οὐ γὰρ ἄγαν ἐδόκει.
εἶπα, καὶ ἁ Νέμεσις με συνάρπασε, κεὐθὺς ἐκείμαν
  ἐν πυρί, παῖς δ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ Ζεὺς ἐκεραυνοβόλει.
τὸν παῖδ' ἱλασόμεσθ', ἢ τὰν θεόν; ἀλλὰ θεοῦ μοι
  ἔστιν ὁ παῖς κρέσσων· χαιρέτω ἁ Νέμεσις.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume IV*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918, rev. 1971, 8th Imp., 353, 355):
When I saw Archestratus the fair I said, so help me Hermes I did, that he was not fair; for he seemed not passing fair to me. I had but spoken the word and Nemesis seized me, and at once I lay in the flames and Zeus, in the guise of a boy, rained his lightning on me. Shall I beseech the boy or the goddess for mercy ? But to me the boy is greater than the goddess. Let Nemesis go her way.

Book XII.160 (Anonymous; Hellenistic):

Θαρσαλέως τρηχεῖαν ὑπὸ σπλάγχνοισιν ἀνίην
  οἴσω, καὶ χαλεπῆς δεσμὸν ἀλυκτοπέδης.

οὐ γάρ πω, Νίκανδρε, βολὰς ἐδάημεν Ἔρωτος
νῦν μόνον, ἀλλὰ πόθων πολλάκις ἡψάμεθα.
καὶ σὺ μέν, Ἀδρήστεια, κακῆς ἀντάξια βουλῆς
τῖσαι, καὶ μακάρων πικροτάτη Νέμεσις.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume IV*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918, rev. 1971, 8th Imp., 365):
Bravely shall I bear the sharp pain in my vitals and the bond of cruel fetters. For it is not now only, Nicander, that I learn to know the wounds of love, but often have I tasted desire. Do both thou, Adrasteia, and thou, Nemesis, bitterest of the immortals, exact due vengeance for his evil resolve.

Book XVI.223 (Anonymous):
Εἰς στήλην Νεμέσεως
Ἡ Νέμεσις προλέγει τῷ πήχεϊ, τῷ τε χαλινῷ,
μήτ' ἄμετρόν τι ποιεῖν, μήτ' ἀχάλινα λέγειν.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume V*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918, 6th Imp., 293):
On a Stele of Nemesis
Nemesis warns us by her cubit-rule and bridle neither to do anything without measure nor to be unbridled in our speech.

Book XVI.224 (Anonymous):
Εἰς τὸ αὐτό
Ἡ Νέμεσις πῆχυν κατέχω· Τίνος οὕνεκα; λέξεις.
πᾶσι παραγγέλλω· Μηδὲν ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume V*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918, 6th Imp., 293):
On the Same
I, Nemesis, hold the cubit-rule. "Why?" you will say. I proclaim to all men, "Nothing beyond due measure."

Book XVI.251 (Anonymous):
Πτανῷ πτανὸν Ἔρωτα τίς ἀντίον ἔπλασ' Ἔρωτι;
ἅ Νέμεσις, τόξῳ τόξον ἀμυνομένα,
ὥς κε πάθῃ τά γ' ἔρεξεν· ὁ δὲ θρασύς, ὁ πρὶν ἀταρβής,

   δακρύει, πικρῶν γευσάμεωος βελέων,
ἐς δὲ βαθὺν τρὶς κόλπον ἀπέπτυσεν. ἆ μέγα θαῦμα·
   φλέξει τις πυρὶ πῦρ· ἥψατ' Ἔρωτος Ἔρως.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume V*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918, 6th Imp., 309):

On Eros and Anteros

Who fashioned a winged Eros and set him opposite winged Eros ? Nemesis, taking vengeance on the bow with the bow, that he may suffer what he did; and he, the bold boy never daunted before, is crying as he tastes the bitter arrows, and thrice he spits in the deep folds of his bosom! Oh, most marvellous! On shall burn fire with fire, Eros has touched Eros to the quick.

Book XVI.263 (Anonymous):

Εἰς Νέμεσιν

Πρίν με λίθον Πέρσαι δεῦρ' ἤγαγον, ὄφρα τρόπαιον
   στήσονται νίκας· εἰμὶ δὲ νῦν Νέμεσις.
ἀμφοτέροις δ'·ἕστηκα, καὶ Ἑλλήνεσσι τρόπαιον
   νίκας, καὶ Πέρσαις τοῦ πολέμου νέμεσις.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume V*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918, 6th Imp., 317):

On Nemesis

The Persians first brought me here, a stone to use for setting up the trophy of their victory, but now I am Nemesis. I stand here for both, a trophy of their victory for the Greeks, and for the Persians the Nemesis of war.

Book XVI.354 (Epigram on an Athlete Statue in the Constantinople Hippodrome; Byzantine):

Αἰδομένη χαλκῷ σε πόλις, τριπόθητε, γεραίρει·
   ἤθελε γὰρ χρυσῷ· ἀλλ' ἴδεν Νέμεσιν.
εἰ δὲ τεὴν μέλπων οὐ παύεται ἠθάδα νίκην
   εὐγνώμων δῆμος, Πορφύριε, Πρασίνων,
ἔμπωοά σοι ξύμπαντες ἀγάλματα· πᾶς δὲ περισσὸς
   καὶ χρυσὸς τούτοις εἰς ἔριν ἐρχόμενος.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Paton, W. R., *The Greek Anthology, Volume V*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918, 6th Imp., 371):

Thrice-desired Porphyrius, the city reverencing thee honors thee with a bronze statue. She would have wished it to be gold, but Nemesis was before her eyes. But if thy well-wishers, the faction of the Greens, never cease celebrating thy wonted victories, they are every man of them living statues in thy honor, and all gold is worthless in comparison with them.

Cyranides (before Harpocration, because cited therein)
I.13.16-29 (Waegeman 1987, 103):

Νεμεσίτης ἐστὶ λίθος αἱρόμενος ἀπὸ βωμοῦ Νεμέσεως.

Γλύφεται οὖν ἐπὶ τόν λίθον Νέμεσις ἔχουσα τὸν πόδα ἐπὶ τροχοῦ ἑστῶτα. τὸ δὲ εἶδος αὐτῆς ὡσεὶ παρθένου, τῇ εὐωνύμῳ χειρὶ κρατοῦσα πῆχυν, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ ῥάβδον· ὑποκατακλείσεις δὲ τῷ λίθῳ ἀκρόπτερον νήσσης καὶ βραχὺ τῆς βοτάνης. Ἐὰν οὖν τὸν δακτύλιον τοῦτον προσενέγκῃς δαιμονιζομένῳ, πάραυτα ὁ δαίμων ἐξομολογησάμενος ἑαυτὸν φεύξεται. ἀφυγιάζει δὲ καὶ σεληνιαζομένους περὶ τὸν τράχηλον φορούμενος. ἀποτρέπει δὲ καὶ φαντασίας δαιμόνων ἐπὶ τῶν ἐνυπνίων, καὶ βρεφῶν ἐξαλλομένων καὶ νυκτερινῶν συναντημάτων. δέον οὖν τὸν φοροῦντα ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ παντὸς μυσεροῦ πράγματος.

Οὗτος οὖν ὁ δακτύλιος φορούμενος μηνύει τὴν ποσότητα τῶν ἐτῶν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνου καὶ τὴν ποιότητα τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τὸν τόπον. δέον οὖν τὸν φοροῦντα ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ πράγματος.

Translation (Reprinted with permission of the publisher from: Waegeman, Maryse, *Amulet and Alphabet, Magical Amulets in the First Book of Cyranides*, Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1987, 104):

The Nemesis stone is a stone removed from a Nemesis altar. In the stone Nemesis is engraved standing with her foot on a wheel. She is pictured as a maiden, holding a cubit-rule in her left hand and a wand in her right hand, You will enclose under the stone a duck's wing tip and a bit of the plant.

If you then present this ring to a possessed, the demon will immediately admit his presence and flee. It also cures moonstrucked if worn around the neck. It alos averts demonic phantasies in dreams, children's frightfulness and nightmares. The wearer must desist from every foul thing.

If this ring is worn it reveals the number of years of your life and the nature and place of your death. The wearer must desist from every bad thing.

Harpocration (14-37 A.C. or Mid-Second Century A.C.)
Lexicon 10.16-11.9:

Ἀδράστειαν· οἱ μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν λέγουσι τῇ Νεμέσει, λαβεῖν τε τοὔνομα ἀπὸ Ἀδράστου τοῦ ταλαοῦ νεμεσηθέντος ἐφ' οἷς τῶν Θηβαίων κατηλαζονεύσατο, εἶτα ἔκ τινων μαντειῶν ἱδρυσαμένου ἱερὸν Νεμέσεως, ὃ προσαγορευθῆναι μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀδραστείας, ὡς Ἀντίμαχος ἐν τούτοις δηλοῖ·

ἔστι δέ τις Νέμεσις μεγάλη θεὸς, ἣ τάδε πάντα
πρὸς μακάρων ἔλαχεν. βωμὸν δὲ οἱ εἵσατο πρῶτος
Ἄδρηστος ποταμοῖο παρὰ ῥόον Αἰσήποιο,
ἔνθα τετίμηταί τε καὶ Ἀδρήστεια καλεῖται.

ἔνιοι μέντοι ὡς διαφέρουσαν συγκαταλέγουσιν αὐτὴν τῇ Νεμέσει, ὡς Μένανδρος καὶ Νικόστρατος.

Translation (Contributed by Ippokratis Kantzios):
Adrasteia: Some say she is the same as Nemesis and that she got her name from the wretched Adrastos who was angered because he had been cheated by the Thebans. Then from some prophecies he founded a sanctuary of Nemesis, which was called afterwards Adrasteia's, as Antimachos makes clear in these lines:

There is a certain Nemesis, a great goddess, who was allotted
all these things from the gods. Adrestos first established an altar
for her beside the stream of the river Aisepos.
There she is honored and called Adresteia.

However, some, like Menander and Nikostratos, catalogue her as being different from Nemesis.

Lexicon 213.8-9:
Νεμέσεια· Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Σπουδίου. μήποτε ἑορτή τις ἦν Νεμέσεως, καθ' ἣν τοῖς κατοιχομένοις ἐπετέλουν τὰ νομιζόμενα.

Translation (Author):
Nemeseia: Demosthenes in his *Against Spoudias*. There was never a feast of Nemesis, at which they celebrated the customary things for the deceased.

Pseudo-Aristotle (c.50 B.C.-140 A.C.)
de Mundo 401b.11-12:
Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην οὐκ ἄλλο τι λέγεσθαι πλὴν τοῦτον, οἱονεὶ ἀνίκητον οὐσίαν ὄντα, εἱμαρμένην δὲ διὰ τὸ εἴρειν τε καὶ χωρεῖν ἀκωλύτως, πεπρωμένην δὲ διὰ τὸ πεπερατῶσθαι πάντα καὶ μηδὲν ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἄπειρον εἶναι, καὶ Μοῖραν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ μεμερίσθαι, Νέμεσιν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑκάστῳ διανεμήσεως, Ἀδράστειαν δὲ ἀναπόδραστον αἰτίαν οὖσαν κατὰ φύσιν, αἶσαν δὲ ἀεὶ οὖσαν.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Furley, D.J., *Aristotle, Volume III: On the Cosmos*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955, 3rd Imp., 407, 409):
I Think too that Necessity, is nothing but another name for him (God), as

being a cause that cannot be defeated; and Destiny because he binds things together and moves without hindrance; Fate, because all things are finite and nothing in the world is infinite; Moira, from the division of things; Nemesis, from the allocation of a share to each; Adrasteia-a cause whose nature is to be inescapable; and Aisa-a cause that exists for ever.

Scholiast on Euripides' Rhesus 342 (Hellenistic ?)
ἔνιοι ἑτέραν μὲν Ἀδράστειάν φασιν, ἑτέραν δὲ Νέμεσιν· οἱ| μὲν Ὠκεανοῦ φασιν εἶναι θυγατέρα, οἱ δὲ Διὸς καὶ Δήμητρος, γεννη|θῆναι δὲ ἐν Ῥαμνοῦντι τῆς Ἀττικῆς.

Translation (Author):
Some say Adrasteia is one and Nemesis another; some say that she is the daughter of Oceanus, others of Zeus and Demeter, born at Rhamnous in Attica.

Uncertain (traditionally attributed to Vergil, but could date from the First-Third Century A.C.—Lyne 1978, 54-56)
Ciris 220-28 (Lyne, R.O.A.M., *Ciris, A Poem Attributed to Vergil*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978):
quam simul Ogygii Phoenicis filia Carme
surgere sensit anus, sonitum nam fecerat illi
marmoreo aeratus stridens in limine cardo,
corripit extemplo fessam languore puellam
et simul 'o nobis sacrum caput' inquit 'alumna,
non tbi nequiquam uiridis per uisera pallor
aegrotas tenui suffundit sanguine uenas,
nec leuis hoc faceresm neque enim pote, cura subegit,
aut fallor: quod ut o potius, Rhamnusia, fallar.

Translation (Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the Loeb Classical Library from: Fairclough, H.R., *Virgil, Volume II: Aeneid, Books VII-XII, The Minor Poems*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918, Rev. 1934, 18th Imp., 423):
Soon as aged Carme, daughter of Ogygian Phoenix, took note of her rising (for she had heard the creaking of the bronze hinge on the marble threshold), straightway she seizes the faint and weary maid, and therewith cries: "O precious foster-child, whom we revere, 'tis not without reason that throughout thy frame a sallow paleness pours its thin blood through they feverish veins, nor has light trouble forced thee—nay, it could not—to this deed, or else I am decieved: and O Rhamnusian maid, rather may I be deceived!"

CATALOGUE OF EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

Algeria

No. 1

Altava (Hajjar er-Rum)

Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: 208 A.C.
References: *CIL* VIII.10949, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
au]G. NEMESI. [sacr
IVLIVS. GERMANVS. DEC. AL. TRH
PRAEPOSITVS. Co
II. SARDOR. PR. CLXVIIII

l. 1: [Au]g(ustae or -i) Nemesi [sacr(um)].
l. 2: TRH is probably an error for THR since the Ala II Augusta Thracum was stationed in Mauretania Caesariensis. The dedicant is therefore dec(urio) Al(ae) Thr(acum).
l. 3: co(hortis).
l. 4: II Sardor(um) (anno) pr(ovinciae) CLXVIIII, which makes the date of the dedication 208 A.C. There is a solid line over the II.

No. 2

Cherchel

Object Type: Fragment of an altar.
Provenience: Amphitheater.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Merlin, A., Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives a l'antiquité romaine, *Revue Archéologique* 26, 1946, 188, no. 79, and further references there.
Text (Merlin):
NEMESI
SANCTE
(broken)

Translation (Author):
To Holy Nemesis (broken).

Austria

No. 3

Carnuntum

Object Type: Altar, 1.14 x .50 m.
Provenience: Legionary amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: No earlier than the reign of Hadrian when Legion XIVG. received its posting at Carnuntum after the Parthian War of Trajan (Mócsy, A., *Pannonia and Upper Moesia, A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire*. Translated by S. Frere. London & Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974, 99).
References: *CIL* III.11121, and earlier references there; *ILS* 3743.
Text (*CIL* = *ILS*):
IVNONI
NEMESI
EPPIVS. MARTINVS
ET. MEM. ESPER. TVB
LEG. XIIII. G. ET. IVL
RODO. ET

l. 1: The letters, except for the last I, are larger than those below.
l. 2: The letters, except for the I, are larger than those below.
l. 3: The TI and VS in Martinus are written in ligature.
l. 4: The name of the second dedicant should probably be interpreted as Mem(mius) Esper. The *CIL* interprets TVB as tub(icen), referring to the second dedicant only, although it would make as much sense to see it as a plural referring to both of the first two dedicants. The ET and the VB in TVB are written in ligature.
l. 5: Leg(ionis) XIV Geminae, stationed at Carnuntum. Iul(ius). There is a solid line over each pair of II in the legion number XIIII, and the ET is written in ligature. The *CIL* notes that three lines are vacant below line 5.

Translation (Author):
To Juno Nemesis, Eppius Martinus and Memmius Esper, trumpet players belonging to Legion XIV Gemina, and Julius Rodo and (broken).

No. 4

Carnuntum

Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Legionary amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.

Date: 184 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.14071.
Text (*CIL*):
[P(ro) S(alute) Comm]ODI
N[em(esi) re]G. [sac.]
C. ATIV[s
CASTV[s
>. LEG. XIIII. G
EX. IVSSV. POS
MARVLLO. ET
ELIANO. COS

l. 3: C. is the well known abbreviation for C/G(aius). The A in Atius is written without the crossbar.
l. 4: The A in Castus is written without the crossbar.
l. 5: The backwards C is a well known abbreviation for centurio, followed here by leg(ionis) XIIII geminae. There is a solid line over each pair of II in the legion number XIIII.
l. 6: pos(uit).
l. 7-8: Marullo et Eliano co(n)s(ulibus), which would make the date of the inscription 184 A.C. The ET is written in ligature.

Translation (Author):
For the well-being of Commodus (?). Dedicated to Nemesis Regina. Caius Atius Castus, centurion of Legion XIV Gemina, has erected (this) by command. Under the consulship of Marullus and Elianus.

No. 5
Carnuntum
Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Legionary amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: The absence of a praenomen in the dedicant's name makes a date in the second half of the second century A.C. or later likely (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969, 27; Gordon, A.E., *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 22).
References: *CIL* III.14073.
Text (*CIL*):
NEMESI.
SACRVM. P
RO SAL. AV
GVSTI. CL.

VICTOR.
V. S. L. L. M

l. 3: sal(ute).
l. 4: CL. is the well knkown abbreviation for Cl(audius).
l. 6: v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

Translation (Author):
Dedicated to Nemesis for the well-being of the Augustus. Claudius Victor has cheerfully, willingly, and properly fulfilled a vow.

No. 6
Carnuntum
Object Type: Statue base with a statue of Nemesis.
Provenience: Legionary amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: No earlier than the reign of Hadrian when Legion XIVG. received its posting at Carnuntum after the Parthian War of Trajan (Mócsy, A., *Pannonia and Upper Moesia, A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire*. Translated by S. Frere. London & Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974, 99).
References: *CIL* III.14074.
Text (*CIL*):
DEAE. NEMESI
SIMVLACRV. Q.
REF MANSVETVS
P. [P] LEG. XIIII. G. PO

l. 1: The AE in Deae is written in ligature.
l. 2: simulacru(m). Q. is a well known abbreviation for Q(uintus). The RV in simulacru(m) is written in ligature.
l. 3: The *CIL* suggests the name as Ref(idius?).
l. 4: p(rimus) [p(ilus)] Leg(ionis) XIV G(eminae) po(suit). The second P is damaged and not very clear, but enough remains that, taken with the evidence of No. 10 below, P.P. is almost certain. The E in LEG is damaged but legible. The legion number XIIII is written with a solid line over it.

Translation (Author):
To the goddess Nemesis, Quintus Ref(idius?) Mansuetus, *primus pilus*, belonging to Legion XIV Gemina, has erected an image.

No. 7
Carnuntum
Object Type: Marble plaque.
Provenience: Legionary amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: No earlier than the reign of Hadrian when Legion XIVG. received its posting at Carnuntum after the Parthian War of Trajan (Mócsy, A., *Pannonia and Upper Moesia, A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire*. Translated by S. Frere. London & Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974, 99).
References: *CIL* III.14075.
Text (*CIL*):
neme]SI. REG.
...........]ERVS
leg.] XIIII. C. V. S

l. 1: Reg(inae).
l. 3: C. is here an abbreviation for G(eminae). v(otum) s(olvit). The point after the C is written within the letter, and the V is smaller than the other letters in the inscription.

Translation (Author):
To Nemesis Regina. ...erus, [belonging to Legion] XIV Gemina, has fulfilled a vow.

No. 8
Carnuntum
Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Legionary amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: 199 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.14076.
Text (*CIL*):
NEMESI
REG. ET.
DEANE. SA
M. ANC. SE
CVNDINVS
N M H VET. LEG
XIIII. G. V. S. L
ANVL. ET FR
ONT. COS

l. 1: The NE in Nemesi is written in ligature.
l. 2: Reg(inae). The ET is written in ligature.
l. 3: sa(crum). The EA and NE in Deane are written in ligature.
l. 4: M(arcus). *CIL* interprets as Anc(harius).
l. 5: According to the *CIL* the H is not certain. Interpretations in the CIL include n(actus) m(issionem) h(onestam) or n(atus) M(ursae). The remainder of the line is vet(eranus) leg(ionis). The VET is written in ligature.
l. 7: G(eminae) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens). There are two solid lines below the letters of line 7.
l. 8-9: Anul(ino) et Front(one) co(n)s(ulibus), which makes the date of the dedication 199 A.C. The ET is written in ligature. The F in Front(one) is damaged but legible.

Translation (Author):
Dedicated to Nemesis Regina and Diana. Marcus Ancharius Secundinus, having obtained an honorable discharge (or born in Mursa), veteran of Legion XIV Gemina, has willingly fulfilled a vow. Under the consulship of Anulinus and Fronto.

No. 9
Carnuntum
Object Type: Statue base.
Provenience: Legionary amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: July 31, 187 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.14077.
Text (*CIL*):
VOTA.[....................]
XIIII. G CVR AG N
H. AR. ET. SIG. POS. L. L
EX. VOTO. CRISPIN
ET. AELIAN. COS. PRID
KAL. AVG

l. 1: Vota is damaged but legible.
l. 2-3: XIV G(eminae), the legion stationed at Carnuntum. The interpretations in the *CIL* are cur(am) ag(ens) n(umeri) h(arenariarum) or cur(am) ag(ens) N(emesiaci) h(anc/uius) ar(am) et sig(num) pos(uit). L.L is undoubtedly l(aetus) l(ibens). The C and R in CVR, the A in AG and the H are all damaged but legible.
l. 4-6: Crispin(o) and Aelian(o) co(n)s(sulibus), making the date of the dedication 187 A.C.; prid(ie) kal(endas) Aug(ustas). The IN in Crispin(o) is

written in ligature. The E in et is damaged but legible. KAL. AVG is written in smaller characters than the rest of the inscription.

Translation (Author):
(damaged) belonging to [Legion] XIV Gemina, acting as guardian of the members of the arena (or acting as guardian of the Nemesiaci), has willingly and cheerfully erected the (this) altar and statue from a vow. On the day before the kalends of August (July 31), under the consulship of Crispinus and Aelianus.

No. 10
Carnuntum
Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Legionary amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: Probably another dedication by the individual in Inscription no. 6. No earlier than the reign of Hadrian when Legion XIVG. received its posting at Carnuntum after the Parthian War of Trajan (Mócsy, A., *Pannonia and Upper Moesia, A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire*. Translated by S. Frere. London & Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974, 99).
References: *CIL* III.14078.
Text (*CIL*):
(broken)
MAN[suetus
P. P. LE X[iiii g
(broken)

l. 2: p(rimus) p(ilus) Le(gionis).

Translation (Author):
(broken) Man(suetus?), *primus pilus* belonging to Legion XIV Gemina (broken).

No. 11
Carnuntum
Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Legionary amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* III.14079.
Text (*CIL*):
(broken)
damaged

ATOTI
VIS HONC
damaged
(broken)

l. 1: A is damaged but legible. TI is written in ligature.
l. 2: V is damaged but legible. HO is written in ligature.

No. 12
Carnuntum
Object Type: Base.
Provenience: Legionary amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: Reign of Alexander Severus (222-235 A.C.) because of the name of the legion.
References: *CIL* III.14357, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
]D. NEMESI. S
]ANC. NVMI
]P AEL. SEPT.
]MVCAPOR. >
]XIIII G. SEVE
....]N[.........
(damaged)
....]IV[........
....]N[.........
(damaged)
...]IA[]V[]R

l. 1: The Interpretation in the *CIL* is D(eae) Nemesi s(acrum). The D is damaged but legible. The NE and ME in Nemesi are written in ligature.
l. 2: The interpretation in the *CIL* is [s]anct(o) numi(ni). The A in [s]anct(o) and the MI in numi(ni) are damaged but legible.
l. 3: The interpretation in the *CIL* is P(ublius) Ael(ius) Sept(imius). The AE in Ael(ius) is written in ligature.
l. 4: The interpretation in the *CIL* is Mucapor, with the sign for centurio following. The M in Mucapor is damaged but legible, the OR is written in ligature.
l. 5: The interpretation in the *CIL* is leg(ionis) XIIII geminae Seve(rianae). This line is damaged but legible.
l. 6: The interpretation in the *CIL* is [Alexa]n[drianae]. N is the only clearly legible letter.

l. 11: The interpretation in the *CIL* is Ia[n]u[a]r ? This line is badly damaged.

Translation (Author):

Dedicated to the goddess Nemesis, to the holy divine power. Publius Aelius Septimius Mucapor, centurion belonging to Legion XIV Gemina Severiana Alexandriana...On...January (?).

No. 13

Carnuntum

Object Type: Unspecified.

Provenience: Legionary amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.

Date: Roman Imperial.

References: *CIL* III.14358.

Text (*CIL*):

ne]MESI RE
g]INAE
...]T[...

Translation (Author):

To Nemesis Regina (damaged).

No. 14

Carnuntum

Object Type: Three cyma fragments.

Provenience: Near the Nemesis shrine of the legionary amphitheater.

Date: Roman Imperial.

References: *CIL* III.14358.1.

Text (*CIL*):

NE[mesi regina]E PRO [s]AL AVG[...

l.: [s]al(ute) Aug[(usti)

Translation (Author):

To Nemesis Regina for the well-being of the Augustus (damaged).

No. 15

Carnuntum

Object Type: Altar.

Provenience: Legionary camp, SW corner, near the ramparts.

Date: The absence of a praenomen in the dedicant's name makes a date in the second half of the second century A.C. or later likely (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg: Carl

Winter, 1969, 27; Gordon, A.E., *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 22).
References: *CIL* III.11153, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
NEMESI. AVG
PRO. SAL. AVG
VERVCCI. MARC
...]IVS. IMM. VOTVM

l. 1: The interpretation in the *CIL* is Nemesi Aug(ustae). The N in Nemesi and the G in Aug(ustae) are damaged but legible. The AV in Aug(ustae) is written in ligature.
l. 2: The interpretation in the *CIL* is pro sal(ute) Aug(usti). The AL in sal(ute) and the AV in Aug(usti) are written in ligature.
l. 3-4: The interpretation in the *CIL* is Verucci(us) Marc[el]lus (?) with the I after the break at the beginning of line 4 read as an L in the Marc[el]lus. The AR in Marc[el]lus is written in ligature, and the C is smaller than the other letters.
l. 4-5: The interpretation in the *CIL* is imm(unis) votum [s.l.m.]. The OT in votum is written in ligature, and the M is damaged but legible.

No. 16
Carnuntum
Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Legionary camp, near the pistrinum and figlinum.
Date: 201 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.15191, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
NEMESI. AVGG
C. PVBL. CENSO
RINVS. VE. LEG
.XIIII G. EXOPTI
ONE CVST. V. S.
L. L. M
MVCIANO. ET. FA
BIANO. COS

l. 1: According to the *CIL* the second G in AVGG. is read by one source but uncertain to another. If it is in fact present, we have here an abbreviation for Augustorum and therefore not a adjectival epithet of the goddess but a genitival usage. The NE and ME in Nemesi and the AV in AVGG are written in ligature.

l. 2: C. is C(aius), Publ. undoubtedly is Publ(ius).
l. 3: ve(teranus) Leg(ionis).
l. 4: G(eminae).
l. 5: The interpretation in the *CIL* is cust(odiarum).
l. 5-6: v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito)
l. 7-8: Muciano and Fabiano co(n)s(ulibus), which makes the date of the dedication 201 A.C.

Translation (Author):
To Nemesis of the Augusti, Caius Publius Censorinus, veteran of Legion XIV Gemina, discharged as adjutant of the watch, has cheerfully, willingly and properly fulfilled a vow, under the consulship of Mucianus and Fabianus.

No. 17
Carnuntum
Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Legionary camp, in situ.
Date: The absence of a praenomen in the dedicants' names makes a date in the second half of the second century A.C. or later likely (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969, 27; Gordon, A.E., *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 22).
References: *CIL* III.15192, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
NEME
SI. AVG
VALERIN
VS. MECV
RIALIS.
FORTVNI
VS ANDRI
AS VALERI
VS PERTI

NAX CLAVI
CVL. VS. L. M

l. 1-2: The ME in Nemesi is written in ligature. Aug(ustae) or Aug(usti).
l. 4-5: Mecurialis is cited as an error in the *CIL* for Me(r)curialis. The ME in the name is written in ligature.

l. 9-10: The A in Pertinax is damaged but legible, and is noted by the *CIL* as nearly in the form of a Δ.
l. 10-11: clavicul(arii) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

No. 18

Carnuntum

Object Type: Altar, 62 x 26(20.5) x 22(17) cm.
Provenience: City amphitheater, south entrance passage.
Date: No earlier than the middle of the second century A.C. when the city amphitheater was erected by decurion Domitius Zmaragdus (Mócsy, A., *Pannonia and Upper Moesia, A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire*. Translated by S. Frere. London & Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974, 227).
References: Egger, R., Das zweite Amphitheater, *Der römischen Limes in Österreich* XVI, 1926, 124-125, no. 58, Abb. 44; Volkmann, H., Studien zum Nemesiskult, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 26, 1928, 314, no. 58.
Text (Egger):
NEMESI
AVG SAC
VLP SE
CVNDVS
ET VLP
SECVNDI
NA FILIA
V S L M

l. 2: Aug(ustae) or Aug(usti) sac(rum).
l. 3: Ulp(ius).
l. 5: Ulp(ia).
l. 8: v(ota) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito).

Translation (Author):
Dedicated to Nemesis Augusta. Ulpius Secundus and Ulpia Secundina, his daughter, have willingly and properly fulfilled (their) vows.

No. 19

Carnuntum

Object Type: Altar, 60.5 x 39(30) x 32(28) cm.
Provenience: City amphitheater, south entrance passage.
Date: No earlier than the middle of the second century A.C. when the civil amphitheater was erected by decurion Domitius Zmaragdus (Mócsy, A., *Pannonia and Upper Moesia, A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of*

the Roman Empire. Translated by S. Frere. London & Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974, 227). Egger wishes to date the altar to the second century, before the Marcomanni war, on he basis of of letter forms.
References: Egger, R., Das zweite Amphitheater, *Der römischen Limes in Österreich* XVI, 1926, 125, no. 59, Abb. 44; Volkmann, H., Studien zum Nemesiskult, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 26, 1928, 314, no. 59.
Text (Egger):
...]NT[...
FORT KARN
C IVL FLO
RENT AN
TIST DEAE
V S L L

l. 1: Because of Egger's date for the altar, he proposes to restore the first line as [Praese]nt(e) [et Rufin(o) co(n)s(ulibus)], the consuls for 153 A.C.
l. 2: Fort(unae) Karn(untinae).
l. 3: C(aius) Iul(ius).
l. 3-4: Florent(inus).
l. 4-5: antist(es).
l. 6: v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens).

Translation (Author):
To Carnuntine Fortuna, Caius Julius Florentinus, priest of the goddess, has willingly and cheerfully fulfilled a vow.

No. 20
Carnuntum
Object Type: Altar, 67 x 31(24) x 27(25) cm.
Provenience: City amphitheater, south entrance passage.
Date: No earlier than the middle of the second century A.C. when the civil amphitheater was erected by decurion Domitius Zmaragdus (Mócsy, A., *Pannonia and Upper Moesia, A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire*. Translated by S. Frere. London & Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974, 227).
References: Egger, R., Das zweite Amphitheater, *Der römischen Limes in Österreich* XVI, 1926, 126, no. 60, Abb. 44; Volkmann, H., Studien zum Nemesiskult, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 26, 1928, 314, no. 60.
Text (Egger):
N. F. K
MVN K
L. M

l. 1: The N is dmaged but legible, while the K is damaged and restored by Egger. Egger interprets as N(emesi) F(ortunae) [K(arnuntinae)].
l. 2: The M is damaged but enough remains to restore it as an M. Egger interprets as mun(icipes) K(arnuntini).
l. 3: The L is damaged but legible. Egger interprets as l(ibentes) m(erito).

Translation (Author):
To Carnuntine Nemesis Fortuna, the Carnuntine citizens, willingly and properly (have fulfilled their vows).

No. 21
Flavia Solva
Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Amphitheater, near the northern entrance where a Nemesis shrine was located.
Date: Although Weber dates the inscription to the late second century A.C. on internal grounds, it is probably no earlier than the third century A.C. when the amphitheater was constructed (*Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*. Princeton: Princeton Univeristy Press, 1976, 330).
References: Schmid, W., Römische Forschungen in Österreich 1912-1924, II, *Deutsches Archäologiches Insitiut, Römische-Germanische Kommission, Bericht* 15, 1923-24, 238; Weber, E., *Die römerzeitlichen Inschriften der Steiermark*. Graz, 1969, 210-11, no. 153.
Text (Schmid = Weber):
NEMESI
AVG(ustae)
KANIVS
TERTULLINVS
V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

l. 3: The LI and NVS in Tertullinus are written in ligature.

Translation (Author):
To Nemesis Augusta, Kanius Tertullinus has willingly and properly fulfilled a vow.

No. 22
Flavia Solva
Object Type: Marble relief featuring a man wearing a tunic, and holding a shield and whip. He is crowned by Victory, and between them is a winged griffin. In the background, to the man's right, are a gladiatorial helmet and trident.

Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: in the castle at Seckau.
Date: Stylistically asigned a date of mid-second to third centuries A.C. (Weber 1969, 224-25), but probably no earlier than the third century A.C. when the amphitheater was constructed (*Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*. Princeton: Princeton Univeristy Press, 1976, 330) unless an earlier structure also served this purpose.
References: *CIL* III 5406, and earlier references there; Diez, E., Ein Nemesis-Relief aus Flavia Solva, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 36, 1946, Beiblatt 5-14; Weber, E., *Die römerzeitlichen Inschriften der Steiermark*. Graz, 1969, 224-25, no. 168.
Text (*CIL* = Weber):
Broken inscription below the relief reads:
d]EAE NEMESI

Translation (Author):
To the goddess Nemesis (broken).

No. 23
Ovilava

Object Type: Relief featuring a soldier holding a shield in his left hand, a spear in his right hand; a griffin with wheel at his feet right.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: No earlier than the reign of Trajan because of the Imperial nomen of the dedicant.
References: *CIL* III.5633, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
M. VLP. ROMVLVS CC[...

l.: M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Romulus. The last remaining letter in the inscription is damagaed and could represent a C or an O, thereby rendering interpretation very difficult. If an O, co[h(ortis)] is possible, especially given the relief. If the letter is read as a C, perhaps we have (agens) c(uram) c(arceris).

No. 24
Teurnia

Object Type: Panel featuring a depiction of three venators and a bear, Diana offering upon an altar.
Provenience: "Rep. aestate a. 1827 in ipso calle, in quo est ecclesia S. Petri in Holz, prope Fressnitz" (*CIL*).
Date: Roman Imperial.

References: *CIL* III.4738, and earlier references there; *ILS* 3745; Jaksch, A. von, Der Nemesis-Votivstein von Teurnia, *Carinthia* I, 1904, 1-9
Text (*CIL* = *ILS*):
Above the relief:
SYRASC. VALERIAN. EVTYCHES. ALB. MA
On the altar: NEM
ESI
AVG

l. 1: Syrasc(us), Valerian(us). The interpretation in the *CIL* is Alb(ii) Ma(ximi). Slaves of Albius Maximus are also mentioned in grave inscription CIL III.4876. The VA in Valerian(us) is written in ligature.
l. 3 on altar: Aug(ustae) or Aug(usti).

Translation (Author):
Syrascus, Valerianus, Eutyches, belonging to Albius Maximus, to Nemesis Augusta.

No. 25
Virunum
Object Type: Base.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* III.4805, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
NEMNIC
L. BAR. L. L
PILOCL. D. D.

l. 1: Nemesis?
l. 2: L(ucius) Bar(ius) l(iberti) l(ibertus)?
l. 3: P(h)ilocl(es)? d(onum) d(edit).

Britain
No. 26
Bath
Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Near the caldarium.
Date: Post-Claudian conquest of Britain, 43 A.C.; and the absence of a praenomen in the dedicant's name makes a date in the second half of the second century A.C. or later likely (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969, 27; Gordon,

A.E., *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 22).
References: *CIL* VII.46, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
N A SACRAT
SSIMA VOTV
M SOLVIT
VETTIVS BE
NIGNVS. L P[...

l. 1-2: *CIL* interprets N A as Nemesi Augustae. Sacratssima is corrected by the *CIL* to Sacratissima. If Nemesi is the correct reading the declension requires Sacratissima(e). The N is damaged but legible.
l. 5: Interpretations in the *CIL* include l(ibens) p(osuit) and l(ibens) p(ecunia) [s(ua)].

No. 27
Borcovicium
Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Post-Claudian conquest of Britain, 43 A.C.
References: *CIL* VII.654.
Text (*CIL*):
DEAE
NEM[..]SI
AL[.....]IA
V[.......]I
...........]IL

l. 1-2: Two solid lines separate the text between lines 1 and 2.

No. 28
Caerleon
Object Type: Lead plaque in the form of a tabula ansata with holes for attachment.
Provenience: Amphitheater adjacent to the legionary fortress.
Date: Must be later than the construction of the legionary fortress in 74-75 A.C. (*Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976, 415-16).
References: Collingwood, R.G., Inscriptions on Stone and Lead, *Archaeologia* 78, 1928, 157-58; Oxé, A., Ein römisches Fluchtäfelchen aus Caerleon (England), *Germania* 15, 1931, 16-19; Egger, R., Aus der

Unterwelt der Festlandkelten, *Jahreshefte des Österreichishen Archäologischen Instituts* 35, 1943, 108-10; Collingwood, R. G. & Wright, R. P., *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain I.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965, no. 323.
Text (Collingwood & Wright):
Domina Ne
mesis do ti
bi palleum
et galliculas
qui tulit non
redimat ni
uita sanguinei
sui

l. 6: Egger reads ni[si].
l. 7: Egger interprets sanguinei to refer to the "blood-like" color of a horse, not to actual "blood". This is followed by Collingwood and Wright. However, sufficient occurrence of the formula "with his own blood and life" in curse texts from elsewhere in Britain make this a more likely interpretation.

Translation (Author):
Lady Nemesis! I give to you a cloak and shoes. May the one who has worn them not redeem (them) except with his own life and blood.

No. 29
Chester
Object Type: Sandstone altar, 48.3 x 34.3 x 25.4 at base.
Provenience: Nemesis sacellum set into the cavea of the amphitheater just to the west of the northern entrance corridor.
Date: Apparently originally belonged, because of plinth from this level of same dimensions, to the first phase of the sacellum, and amphitheater in early second century A.C., and continued in use in the second phase during the late third century A.C. (Thompson 1975, 167, 181-82).
References: Thompson, F. H., The Excavations of the Roman Amphitheatre at Chester, *Archaeologia* 105, 1975, 167-68.
Text (Thompson):
DEAE NEMESI
SEXT MARCI
ANVS 7 EX VISV

l. 1: The AE in deae and NE in Nemesi are written in ligature.
l. 2: Sext(us).
l. 3: 7 is a standard abbreviation for centurio.
Translation (Author):
To the goddess Nemesis, Sextus Marcianus, centurion, from a vision.

No. 30

Hadrian's Wall (perhaps from Housesteads)

Object Type: Altar, 7 x 13 in.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Post-Claudian conquest of 43 A.C.
References: Collingwood, R. G. & Wright, R. P., *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain I*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965, no. 2065, and further references there.
Text (Collingwood & Wright):
DEAE
NEM[ES]I
APOLLON
IVS SACE
RDOS FEC(IT)

l. 1: The second E in Deae is damaged but legible.
l. 3: The P, second L and O in Apollonlius are damaged but legible.
l. 4: The S and E in sacelrdos are damaged but legible. The A in sacelrdos is written without the crossbar.

Bulgaria

No. 31

Augustae Traianae

Object Type: Marble tabula, partially broken, 27 x 28 x 7 cm, featuring an anaglyph featuring Nemesis.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context.
Date: Roman Imperial. The Imperial nomen Flavius suggests a date no earlier than 69 A.C.
References: Mihailov, G., *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae III*. Serdica: Academiae Literarum Bulgaricae, 1964, no. 1601, and further references there.
Text (Mihailov):
Inscription above the anaglyph is unclear.

In the anaglyph
[’Α]γ̣α̣θῆι in the wheel: τύχηι

Below the anaglyph
[ἱερ]ωμένου Τ(ίτου) Φ(λαβίου) Σκέλητος κατ̣-
......]νης πρώτω̣ς καθιερούντων̣
......]ν ἀν̣έ̣θ[ηκ]αν τὴν θε̣ά̣ν̣ (Ν)ἔ̣μ̣ε̣σ̣[ιν]

l. 2: Τ(ίτου) Φ(λαβίου) is the Greek version of the Latin abbreviation T(iti) F(lavii).
l. 3: The ΝΗΣ is written in ligature.
l. 4: The ΝΕ in ἀνέθ[ηκ]αν, the final Ν in ἀνέθ[ηκ]αν with the following ΤΗΝ, the Ν in θε̣ά̣ν̣ with the Ε in (Ν)έμεσ[ιν], and ΝΜ in (Ν)έμεσ[ιν] are all written in ligature.

No. 32

Kabyle

Object Type: Two fragments of a relief of Nemesis.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Unknown.
References: *SEG* 32, 1982, 198, no. 673, and further references there.
Text (*SEG*):
[name of dedicator] εὐχαριστήριον Θε-
[ᾷ or ῷ Νεμέσει] ἀνέθετο

No. 33

Kaletó

Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: in the environs of the village of Altimir.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *L'année épigraphique* 1977, 204, no.767, and further references there.
Text (*L'année épigraphique*):
NEMESI
REG(inae) IVL(ius)
...
...
[...s]
ER(vus) VIL(icus)
POS(uit)

Translation (Author):
To Nemesis Regina, Julius...slave, foreman has erected (this).

No. 34

Mediterranea ad Haemum

Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: The absence of a praenomen in the dedicant's name makes a date in the second half of the second century A.C. or later likely (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969, 27; Gordon, A.E., *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 22).
References: *CIL* III.14208, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
NEMESI
AVG
PRO S. IMP
(damaged line)
AVG. CAES. I
DIVS. AMAN
DVS. B F. V. C
Cos. V. P.

l. 2: Aug(usti) or Aug(ustae).
l. 3: s(alute) imp(eratoris).
l. 5: Aug(usti).
l. 5-8: The interpretation in the *CIL* is Caesidius Amandus b(ene) f(iciarius) v(iri) c(larissimi) co(n)s(ularis) v(oto) p(osuit).

No. 35

Odessus

Object Type: Marble tabula, featuring an anaglyph with part of a Thracian Rider scene preserved.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: in the "Mädchenschule".
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Kalinka, E., *Schriften der Balkankommission IV: Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien.* Wein: Alfred Holder, 1906, 263-65, no. 335, 376, and fig. 107; Mihailov, G., *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae I.* Seredicae: Academiae Literarum Bulgaricae, 1956, 118, no. 220.
Text (Mihailov):
Above the anaglyph
Ἀριστοκλῆς Ἕλληνος ἥρως χαῖρε

Below

ʼΕξ ἀγαθῶν γονέων παῖς ὀρφανός, ὦ παροδεῖτα,
λειφθεὶς| τὴν φθονερὴν εἶδον ἐγὼ Νέμεσιν
ὀκτωκαιδεκέτης θαλά|μων ἀμύητος, ἄτεκνος.
οὗ κεῖται κατὰ γῆς σῶμα μαραινόμενον|
(δαίμων, αἰδέσθετι, κακῶν θρήνων ἀκόρητε)|
ψυχή θ' ἡρώων. πένθος ἀποστ(ρ)έφετε.

l. 6: Mihailov mentions that the θ has sometimes been read as a (Δ). The (ρ) in ἀποστ(ρ)έφετε is missing from Kalinka's text. Kalinka suggests it should have read ἀποστέρεται?

Translation (Author):
Above anaglyph:
Aristokles of Greece, hero, hail!

Below
O passer-by, having been left an orphan child from good heritage, I saw the envious Nemesis at eighteen years of age, unintiated into the bridal chambers, childless. Whose body lies rotting away beneath the earth (insatiate spirit, be ashamed of evil laments), but whose soul is among heroes. Grief turn you back.

No. 36

Tomis (Debeli Lak)

Object Type: Marble tabula, 27 x 20 x 3 cm., with anaglyph featuring Nemesis and a griffin.
Provenience: "reperta in (?) vico Debeli Lak" (Mihailov).
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Volkmann, H., Neue Beiträge zum Nemesiskult, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 31, 1934, 51, note 1; Mihailov, G., *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae IV*. Serdica: Academiae Literarum Bulgaricae, 1966, 158-59, no. 2140.
Text:
(Volkmann):
ʼΑγα[θῆ τύ]χη
Νεμέσ[ει ʼΑδρ]αστεία
[Φλ]ά(ουία?) Πρόκλα χαριστήριο
[ν ʼΙ]νγένον

(Mihailov):
Above anaglyph

’Αγαθῇ τύχῃ
Νεμέσ[ει ’Αδρ]αστείᾳ

Below anaglyph
Σα̣λ̣(?) Πρόκλα χαριστήριον

l. 3: The HP in χαριστήριον is written in ligature.

Croatia

No. 37

Ager ad Colapim Fluvium

Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: in the Church of St. Salvatore (*CIL*).
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* III.10831, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):

MARTI AVG
]NA[
ESIP[
SVA[
(damaged)
CANDI[ ]VSLM

l. 2: The restoration in the *CIL* is [Fortu]na[e Nem].
l. 3: The restoration in the *CIL* is esi p[ro salute]
l. 4: The restoration in the *CIL* is sua [et suorum]
l. 6: The restoration in the *CIL* is Candi[dus] V. S. L. M.

No. 38

Andautonia

Object Type: Votive relief featuring an image of Nemesis.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: "lapis erat ad saeculi huius principium in templo S. Petri, a quo agro Petrovina cognomen, australi campi Turopoleos ora, quod his in partibus antiquissimum fertur" (*CIL* for no. 4013 which is the original inscription of L. Funisulanus Vettonianus, legate pro praetore of Pannonia, reused for this relief and text).
Date: Probably no earlier than the second century A.C. because it reemploys a stone inscribed originally in 84-85 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.4008, and earlier references there; *ILS* 3746; Hoffiler, V. & Saria, B., *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien. Heft I: Noricum und*

Pannonia Superior, Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1970 (reprint of 1938), 212-213, no. 474, and further references there; Selem, P., *Les religions orientales dans la Pannonie romaine: Partie en Yougoslavie.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980, 265-6.
Text (*CIL* = *ILS*):
NEM. REG. AVG. SAC
...]IVL. VICTORINVS. VET
...]MVN. AND. CVM. SVIS
V. S. L. M

l. 1: The interpretation in the *CIL* is Nem(esi) reg(inae) Aug(ustae) sac(rum).
l. 2: The interpretation in the *CIL* is Iul(ius) Victorinus vet(eranus). The VET is written in ligature.
l. 3: The interpretation in the *CIL* and the *ILS* is [c(ivis)] mun(icipii) And(autoniae) cum suis, while Hoffiler & Saria and Selem suggest [dec(urio)] mun(icipii) And(autoniensium) cum suis. The M in mun(icipii) is damaged but legible.
l. 4: The interpretation in the *CIL* is v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Translation (Author):
Dedicated to Nemesis Regina Augusta...Julius Victorinus, veteran, citizen (or decurion) of the municipality of Andautonia (or of the Andautonians), with his, has willingly and justly fulfilled his vow.

No. 39
Aquae Ballisae (Daruvar)
Object Type: Limestone altar, 69 x 35 x 28 cm.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Second to third centuries A.C. because of the period of the posting of the legion (Selem 1980, 266).
References: Hoffiler, V. & Saria, B., *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien. Heft I: Noricum und Pannonia Superior,* Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1970 (reprint of 1938), 271, no. 585, and further references there; Selem, P., *Les religions orientales dans la Pannonie romaine: Partie en Yougoslavie.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980, 266, no. 4.
Text (Selem):
NEMESI
AVG(ustae) S(acrum)
SER(gius?) FELIX
ET VAL(erius) PR
OCVLVS M(ilites)

LEG(ionis) I Ad(iutricis) V(otum)
S(olvit) L(ibentes) M(erito)

l. 2: The G in Aug(ustae) and the S in s(acrum) are damaged but legible.
l. 3: The E in Felix is damaged but legible, while the LI is written in ligature and the X is smaller than the other letters.
l. 4: The ET is written in ligature. The A in Val(erius) is damaged but legible.
l. 4-5: The P in Prloculus is damaged but legible.
l. 5: The M in m(ilites) is damaged but legible.
l. 6: The LEG in leg(ionis) is damaged but legible.

No. 40

Histria

Object Type: Limestone altar, 54 x 25 cm.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: "in valle Dragonae fluvii, in agro sub vico S. Pietro dell' Amata reperta" (*Inscriptiones Italiae*).
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *Inscriptiones Italiae* X.III.35; and earlier references there; Pascal, C.B., *The Cults of Cisalpine Gaul*. Collection Latomus LXXV. Bruxelles-Berchem: Latomus, 1964, 38-40.
Text (Inscriptiones Italiae):
NEM[E]
SI AVG(ustae)
SAC(rum)
QUI[....]
SER(vus) L.
[.....]NICI PRO
TECTETI
[V(otum)] S(olvit) L(ibens)

l. 2: The AV in Aug(ustae) appears to be written in ligature from the published photograph.
l. 3: The S in sac(rum) is damaged but enough remains to restore it as an S.
l. 6: The NI is written in ligature.

No. 41

Pola

Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Amphitheater, principal entrance.

Date: Later than the late first century A.C. construction of the amphitheater (Mlakar, S., *The Amphitheater in Pula.* Pula: The Archaeological Museum of Istria, 1973, 8).
References: *CIL* V.17, and earlier references there; Pascal, C.B., *The Cults of Cisalpine Gaul.* Collection Latomus LXXV. Bruxelles-Berchem: Latomus, 1964, 38-40.
Text (*CIL*):
NEMESI
AVG SAC
G LECAN
IVS VITA
LIS QVI ET
SERPVLLI
VS LIB[e...
POS[v...

l. 2: Aug(ustae or -i) sac(rum).
l. 3: G(aius).
l. 5: The interpretation in the *CIL* is qui et.

Translation (Author):
Dedicated to Nemesis Augusta. Gaius Lecanius Vitalis who also (is known as) Serpullius willingly erected (this).

No. 42
Pola
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: "alla Riva della Sanità rep. in castris condendis" (*CIL*).
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* V.8134, and earlier references there; Pascal, C.B., *The Cults of Cisalpine Gaul.* Collection Latomus LXXV. Bruxelles-Berchem: Latomus, 1964, 38-40.
Text (*CIL*):
NEMESI
AVG
GELLIA
NICOSTRAT
V S L M

l. 2: Aug(ustae or -i).
l. 4: Nicostrat(e).

l. 5: v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

No. 43
Pola
Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: "Rep. m. Dec. a. 1875 in fullonicae vestibulo" (*CIL* together with no. 8136 by same man to Silvanus).
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* V.8135, and earlier references there; Pascal, C.B., *The Cults of Cisalpine Gaul*. Collection Latomus LXXV. Bruxelles-Berchem: Latomus, 1964, 38-40.
Text (CIL):
NEMESI
AVG S
C IVLIVS
CHRYSO
GONVS
VOTO FECIT

l. 2: Aug(ustae or -i) s(acrum).
l. 3: C(aius).
l. 6: The IT in fecit is written in ligature.

No. 44
Pola
Object Type: Limestone altar, 35 x 33 x 30 cm.
Provenience: Amphitheater.
Date: No earlier than the late first century A.C. construction of the amphitheater (Mlakar, S., *The Amphitheater in Pula*. Pula: The Archaeological Museum of Istria,1973, 8).
References: Gnirs, A., Grabungen und antike Denkmäler in Pola, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes XV*, Beiblatt, col. 262-63, no. 2; *Inscriptiones Italiae* X.1, 18; Pascal, C.B., *The Cults of Cisalpine Gaul*. Collection Latomus LXXV. Bruxelles-Berchem: Latomus, 1964, 38-40.
Text (Gnirs = *Inscriptiones Italiae*):
[ne]MESI
[au]G(ustae). SAC(rum)
T(itus?) FOR[tunatus?]

l. 3: The T is damaged and restored. The FOR is damaged but enough remains to restore it as FOR.

Translation (Author):
Dedicated to Nemesis Augusta. T(itus) Fort(tunatus?).

No. 45
Salona

Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Amphitheater, near two rooms which were symmetrically disposed on either side of passageway A.
Date: Must be later than the building of the amphitheater, at the earliest apparently in the late first or early second century A.C. (Clairmont, C.W.; Auth, S.H.; Gonzenbach, V. von, *Excavtions at Salona, Yugoslavia (1969-1972)*. Park Ridge, NJ: Noyes Press, 1975,17).
References: Ceci, E., *I monumenti pagani di Salona, I.* Milan: Edizioni Pleion, 1962, 128.
Text (Ceci):
(Dia...)ia ex iu(ssu deae (N)emisi = Nemesi) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

Translation (Author):
(damaged) by command, to the goddess Nemesis, has willingly and justly fulfilled (his vow).

Cyprus

No. 46
Salamis

Object Type: Fragments of a circular marble drum base which would have supported an object.
Provenience: Theater.
Date: Late Flavian period, because the dedicant, if properly restored, was a wealthy Salaminian, Servius Sulpicius Pancles Veranianus, who was apparently builder of theater and amphitheater, and archieros of the entire province of Cyprus at times during that period (Mitford & Nicolaou 1974, 131-39).
References: Mitford, T.B. & Nicolaou, I.K., *Salamis VI: The Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Salamis.* Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, 1974, 142, no.104
Text (Mitford & Nicolaou):
[Νεμ]έσει Σουλπίκιος [Παγκλῆς Οὐηρανιανὸς?...]

Translation (Author):
To Nemesis, Sulpicius [Pancles Veranianus?] (broken).

Egypt

No. 47

Alexandria

Object Type: Unspecified.

Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.

Date: No earlier than reign of Hadrian because of imperial nomen of the dedicant.

References: *CIG* III.4683d, and further references there.

Text (*CIG*):

θεᾷ [μεγάλῃ]
Νεμέ[σει]
Τίτος. Αἴλι̣[ο]ς. [Κο]ί
λιος. ὑπὲρ [εὐ]χα
ριστίας ἀ[νέθη]
κεν. ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ

l. 4-5: The second ο in [Κο]ί|λιος is smaller than the other letters.
l. 5-6: The first Α in [εὐ]χα|ριστίας is written Λ, restored as Α.
l. 6-7: The second Ν in ἀ[νέθη]|κεν is damaged and restored.

No. 48

Alexandria

Object Type: Funerary stele.

Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.

Date: Roman Imperial.

References: Perdrizet, P., Némésis, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 36, 1912, 254, and further references there.

Text (Perdrizet):

θεῷ ὑψίστῳ καὶ πάντων ἐπόπτῃ
καὶ Ἡλίῳ καὶ Νεμέσεσι αἴρει
Ἀρσινόη ἄωρος τὰς χεῖρας· εἴ τις αὐτῇ
φάρμακα ἐποίησε ἢ καὶ ἐπέχαρέ τις
αὐτῆς τῷ θανάτῳ ἢ ἐπιχαιρεῖ, μετέλθετε
αὐτούς.

Translation (Author):

To God most high and overseer of all, to Helios, and to Nemesis, untimely dead Arsinoe raises her hands: if someone prepared a poison for her or someone rejoiced over her death or rejoices, pursue them.

No. 49

Alexandria

Object Type: Limestone statue base.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: de Ricci, S., Referate und Besprechungen: Bulletin épigraphique de l'Egypte romaine II, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 2, 1903, 561-71, 566, no. 126
Text (de Ricci):

Μηουίαν Αὔλου
θυγατέρα Τερτίαν
τὸ Νεμεσῆον

No. 50

Fayum

Object Type: Papyrus.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Third century A.C. (Volkmann 1934, 63).
References: Volkmann, H., Neue Beiträge zum Nemesiskult, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 31, 1934, 63, and further references there.
Text (Volkmann):
(Lines 19-21)

Κνήμη δεξιὰ ἐὰν πάλλῃ, σημαίνει ἐπίδοξον γενέσθαι δούλῳ διαβολήν, παρθένῳ γάμον, χήρᾳ εὐφρασίαν, στρατιώτῃ εὐπορίαν· ἱλάσκου Νέμεσιν.

No. 51

Memphis

Object Type: Papyrus.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: 110 B.C. date (Volkmann 1928, 300).
References: Volkmann, H., Studien zum Nemesiskult, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 26, 1928, 300, no. 12, and further references there.
Text (Volkmann):
(Lines 48-50)

τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἁρμωτιείου δ,
Νεμέσεων καὶ Ἀδραστειῶν θεῶν
μεγίστων ἐπηκόων β...

(Lines 160-63)

[τοῦ] ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἁρμωτι-
είου δ ἀβρόχ(ου),
[Ν]ẹṃẹσ̣εων καὶ Ἀδραστειῶν
θεῶν μεγί(στων) ἐπηκόω(ν) β (ὧν) α λαχ(άνου) α

Translation (Author):
Belonging to the Harmotieion in Alexandria, four; belonging to the Nemeseis and Adrasteiai, most great goddesses who listen to prayer, two...
Belonging to the Harmotieion in Alexandria, four of unsteeped sort; belonging to the Nemeseis and Adrasteiai, most great goddesses who listen to prayer, two, among which are one of vegetable, one...

No. 52
Oxyrrynchus

Object Type: Papyrus.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Volkmann, H., Studien zum Nemesiskult, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 26, 1928, 301, no. 15, and further references there.
Text (Volkmann):
(Oxyr. Papyrus I. 38)
οἷον δ' ἴδε]ν ἥσυχον Ἄρης, [τοιόσδ' οὔτ' Ἀδραστείῃ γλυκ]ὺς οὔτε Νεμέσει

No. 53
Philadelphia (Girzeh)

Object Type: Limestone stele, 70 x 42 cm.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Apparently dated year six of the reign of Nero = 59/60 A.C.
References: Lefebvre, M. G., Égypte gréco-romaine, *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 13, 1913-14, 1-22, 10-12, no. XIX.
Text (Lefebvre):
ὑπὲρ Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος,
Πόπλιος Πετρώνιος [Εὐ]δ̣ή̣μων ἀ[ν]οικο-
δ̣[όμ]η̣σεν τὸ[ν] βωιμὸν (sic) καὶ τὰ συνκύρον-
τα πάντα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων
Νεμέσ(ε)ι κυρίᾳ μεγίστηι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν τέκνων,
ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Βαλβίλλου
τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. L ς̣ Νέρονος (sic)
Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικο(ῦ)
Αὐτοκράτορος, φαῶφι ιγ', ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ,
ἐπ' ἀγαθῶι

l. 1: The first Α in Καίσαρος is written without the crossbar.
l. 4: Attention is drawn by Lefebvre to the spelling of βωιμόν for βωμόν.
l. 6: The ΓΙ in μεγίστηι is written in ligature.

l. 9: The L is a symbol for ἔτους. The damaged symbol after the L is read by Lefebvre as a late version of the letter ϝ, the number six. Attention is drawn by Lefebvre to the spelling of Νέρονος for Νέρωνος.
l. 10: The final ο in Γερμανικο(ῦ) is written above the κ.
l. 11: The final Ω in ἀγαθῷ is written above the ΑΘ.

No. 54
Tebtunis

Object Type: Papyrus.
Provenience: Grapheion.
Date: Month of Pachon, 45 A.C. ("year 6" of Claudius) (Boak 1933, 93-95).
References: Boak, A. E. R., *Papyri from Tebtunis I, Michigan Papyri II.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1933, 167-68, no. 123, VI, line 14; Volkmann, H., Neue Beiträge zum Nemesiskult, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 31, 1934, 63.
Text (Boak):
Line 14:
τιμῆ(ς) ἐλέου ἐπεὶ ἐδιπνοῦμε(ν) εἰς τὸ Νεμη(σιεῖον). (ὀβολὸς) α

No. 55
Unknown

Object Type: Base with two Nemeseis and two Nikai crowning them.
Provenience: Upper Egypt.
Date: Roman Imperial. Volkmann (1934, 70-71) believes the monument to be associated with the victories of Marcus Aurelius over Avidius Cassius and the Germans.
References: Volkmann, H., Neue Beiträge zum Nemesiskult, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 31, 1934, 67-71, fig. 3.
Text (Volkmann):
ΠΡΩΤΥΤΟΣ ΤΕΧΝΗ
ΕΡΓΧΕΤΗΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ

l. 1: Πρώτυτος τέχνη.
l. 2: Probably is the same as ἐργατηριάρχου.

Translation (Author):
Handiwork of Protys, foreman of a workshop.

No. 56
Unknown

Object Type: Base of a Nemesis statue.

Provenience: Perhaps from Sbennytos.
Date: Second half of the second century A.C. because of the hairstyle of the statue (Baratte, F., Une statue de Némésis dans les collections du Louvre, *Revue du Louvre* 2, 171-78).
References: Perdrizet, P., Némésis, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 36, 1912, 272, pl. II.
Text (Perdrizet):
On base:
ΠΤΟΛΛΑΝΟΥΒΙΔΟΣ

l.: Πτολλανούβιδος.

No. 57
Unknown
Object Type: Base of a Nemesis statue.
Provenience: Original is unknown, copied in a Cairo dealer's shop (Fraser); perhaps from Mareotis (*SEG*).
Date: Dated either year 22 of the reign of Augustus, 8 B.C. (Fraser 1964, 85, no. 14), or possibly of that of Tiberius, 36 A.C. (*SEG* 1969, 357).
References: Fraser, P.M., Inscriptions from Greco-Roman Egypt, *Berytus* XV, 1964, 84-85, no. 14; *SEG* 24, 1969, 357, no. 1233.
Text (*SEG*):
᾿Ορόντης ᾿Επιχάρου
συν{συν}αγογὸς
καὶ προσ[τά]της συν-
όδου ῾Ηρακλέου Καλ-
λινίκου καὶ Νεμέσεως
τῶι κοινῶι Μαρε[ώ]του
Νέμεσιν ἀνέθηκεν,
(ἔτους) κβ', τῦβι κγ' =anno XXII

l. 6: Fraser supplies an Α to produce Μαρε[ά]του.
l. 8: An L symbol is used for ἔτους.

No. 58
Unknown
Object Type: Papyrus fragment.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Third century A.C. (Volkmann 1928, 301).
References: Volkmann, H., Studien zum Nemesiskult, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 26, 1928, 301, no. 13, and further references there.
Text (Volkmann):

Ἴσις Νέμεσις Ἀδράστεια

No. 59

Unknown

Object Type: Papyrus.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Fourth century A.C. (Körte 1920, 264, no. 513).
References: Körte, A., Referate. Literarische Texte mit Ausschluß der christlichen, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 6, 1920, 264, no. 513; Volkmann, H., Neue Beiträge zum Nemesiskult, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 31, 1934, 64.
Text (Volkmann):
(Rylands Papyrus 28, lines 135-40)
Κερκεὶς δεξιὰ ἐὰν ἅλληται, λυπηθήσειαι ὁ τοιοῦτος διὰ φίλου, γενήσεται δὲ ἐν ἐπηρίᾳ· εὔχου Νεμέσει.
(Rylands Papyrus 28, line 174)
ἀστράγαλος εὐωνύμοι ποδὸς ἐὰν ἅλληται, ἀνωμαλίαν δηλοῖ· εὔχου Νεμέσει.

No. 60

Unknown

Object Type: Papyrus.
Provenience: Archive of the *basilikos grammateus* Paniskos.
Date: Late Ptolemaic, because of the date of the grammateus.
References: Kunkel, W., Verwaltungsakten aus spätptolemaïscher Zeit, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 8, 1927, 169-215, 208-10, no. 12 II.
Text (Kunkel):
Ἕρβει ἀντιγρα(φεῖ) θη(σαυροῦ) περὶ π(όλιν).| Συμπροοῦ κατ[ὰ τὸν]|παρὰ Διονυσίου τ[οῦ συ(γγενοῦς)]|καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ [ἐπὶ τῶν]|προσόδων χρηματισ[μὸν]|εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν|προτιθεμένην ἀθήραν|ταῖς Νεμέσεσι καὶ Ἀδραστείαις|θεοῖς μεγίστοις (sic) τὰς ὑποκειμένας|καὶ προειμένας ἕως τοῦ ιζ (ἔτους)|πυροῦ δοχ(ικῷ) τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτώ,|γίνονται (πυροῦ) δοχ(ικῷ) μη, καὶ σύ(μβολα) καὶ ἀντισύ(μβολα)|ποίησ(αι) πρὸς αὐ(τοὺς) ὡς κα(θήκει).

l. 9: Attention is drawn by Kunkel to the use of the masculine θεοῖς μεγίστοις with the feminine deities the Nemeseis and Adrasteiai.

Translation (author):
For Erbes, copying-clerk of treasury in city.
Pay together, in accordance with the decree by Dionysios the cousin (an honorary Ptolemaic title), general, and magistrate in charge of the processions, for the daily porridge set before the Nemeseis and Adrasteiai,

great deities, the ear-marked tax proceeds and payments until the year 17 (totalling) in receiving measure fourty-eight of wheat, that is, they amount to, in receiving measure, 48 of wheat. And make for them a receipt and counter-receipt as it is proper.

No. 61

Unknown

Object Type: Papyrus.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Perdrizet, P., Némésis, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 36, 1912, 254; Volkmann, H., Studien zum Nemesiskult, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 26, 1928, 301, no. 14, and further references there.
Text (Volkmann):
(Leiden Magical Papyrus col. VII, lines 6-16)
ἐπικαλοῦμαι καὶ εὔχομαι τὴν τελετήν, ὦ θεοὶ οὐράνιοι, ὦ θεοὶ ὑπὸ γῆν, ὦ θεοὶ ἐν μέσῳ μέρει κυλούμενοι, γ' ἥλιοι ανοχμανε βαρχυχ κατὰ α' μέρος ἐκ α' κοιλίας ἐκπορευόμενοι καθ' ἡμέραν, ὦ τῶν πάντων ζώντων τε καὶ τεθνηκότων κ[ρ]αταιοί, τῶν ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἀνάγκαις θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων διακουσταί, ὦ τῶν φανερῶν καλύπται, ὦ τῶν Νεμέσεων τῶν σὺν ὑμῖν διατριβουσῶν τὴν πᾶσαν ὥραν κυβερνῆται, ὦ τῆς μοίρας τῆς ἅπαντα περιϊππαζομένης ἐπιπομποί, ὦ τῶν ὑπερεχόντων ὁποτάκται, ὦ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ὑψισταί, ὦ τῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένων φανερωταί, ὦ τῶν Νεμέσεων σὺν ὑμῖν διατριβούντων (sic) τὴν πᾶσαν ὥραν πάλιν κυβερνῆται, ὦ τῶν ἀνέμων ὁδηγοί, ὦ τῶν κυμάτων ἐξεγερταί, ὦ πυρὸς κομισταὶ κατά τινα καιρόν, ὦ πᾶσης γέννης κτισταὶ καὶ εὐεργέται, ὦ πᾶσης γέννης τροφοί, ὦ βασιλέων κύριοι καὶ κρατισταί, ἔλθατα εὐμενεῖς, ἐφ' δ' ὑμᾶς ἐπικαλοῦμαι ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντί μοι πράγματα εὐμενεῖς παραστάται.

No. 62

Unknown

Object Type: Gem: hematite.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified. In the H. Hoffmann Collection, Paris.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Volkmann, H., Studien zum Nemesiskult, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 26, 1928, 299, no. 7, and further references there.
Text (Volkmann):
Ἶς θεὸς λέγι·
ὃς ἀγαθῇ ψυχῇ σκηνὴν θυμ[έ]λης ἐπάτησε,
τ[ο]ύτῳ κὲ Νέμεσι[ς] κὲ Χάριτες συνέποντε·
ἰδέ τις ὢν ἀμαθὴς ψυχὴν ἔσχε περίεργον,

τοῦτον ἀπηρνήσαντο θεοί
κὲ Παφίης σύνοδος·
τοίνυν, ἑτῖρε, τῶν τρόπω[ν] γίνου φίλ[ο]ς.

Translation (Author):
The One God says:
Whosoever walked upon the stage of the orchestra in good soul, both Nemesis and the Graces accompanied this person. If some untutored person exhibited an overwrought soul, the gods and the assembly of the Paphian One utterly denied this one; therefore, you, become a friend of the methods.

France

No. 63

Vintium

Object Type: Cippus.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: “rep. a. 1821 ad portam ecclesia” (*CIL*).
Date: No earlier than the reign of Hadrian because of imperial nomen of the person for whom it was dedicated.
References: *CIL* XII.22, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
P. AELIO. PAMP[hilo]
CALPVRNIA. PA[m]
PHILE. PATR[i]
MERENTISSIMO
POSVIT
AD. QVOD. OPVS
COLLIGN. IVVENV[m]
NEMESIORVM
INPENDIVM. DEDI[t]

l. 1: P is a well known abbreviation for P(ublius).
l. 2-3: The A in Pa[m]phile is damaged but legible.
l. 7: For the form collign(ium) in place of the more usual collegium, the *CIL* points to parallels in *CIL* VII.1069-1070. The V in iuvenu[m] is damaged but legible.

Translation (Author):
To Publius Aelius Pamphilus. Calpurnia Pamphile has erected (this) for (her) most-deserving father, for which task the guild of *Iuvenes Nemesii* gave the payment.

Germany

No. 64

Bonn

Object Type: Limestone altar, 80 x 57 x 23.5 cm.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: built into Münsterkirche foundation.
Date: c. 100-110 A.C. by the fact that the 22nd Legion was stationed in Bonn when Legio I Minerva was with Trajan in the Dacian War (Schwertheim 1974, 38).
References: Schwertheim, E., *Die Denkmäler orientalischer Gottheiten im römischen Deutschland.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974, 37, no. 39, and further references there.
Text (Schwertheim):
NEMESI DEA-(sic)
NAE PVBLIVS
PVBLI (filius) CLAVDIA
SAVARIA ACV
LEIENSIS OPPONI(us)
IVSTVS ARCHIT(ectus)
LEG(ionis).XXII P(rimigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis)

l. 1: Schwertheim draws attention to the spelling of Dialnae as Dealnae.
l. 4-5: Schwertheim notes that the dedicant probably came from Aquileia.

Translation (Author):
To Nemesis Deana, Publius Opponius Iustus, son of Publius, Aculeian, from Claudia Savaria, architect of Legion XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis.

No. 65

Köln-Deutz

Object Type: Limestone altar, 32 x 20 x 11 cm.; has one one side a relief of a cornucopia and rudder.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: built into the East Gate of the fortress.
Date: End of the second or third century A.C. (Binsfeld 1960, 161-63).
References: Binsfeld, W., Zwei neue Inschriften zum Kölner Amphitheater, *Bonner Jahrbucher* 160, 1960, 161-63; Binsfeld, W., Tätigkeitsbericht für das Jahr 1955, *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 6, 1962/3, 143, pl. 27; Galsterer, B. & H., *Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln.* Köln: Römisch-Germanischen Museums, 1975, 16, no. 17, pl. 4.
Text (Binsfeld = Galsterer and Galsterer):
DIANE

NEMESI
AVR(elius)
AVITVS
T(h)R(aex) D(edit) L(ibens) L(aetus) M(erito)

l.5: The Galsterers accept Binsfeld's assumption that TR is an abbreviation for T(h)r(aex) because of the dedicant's worship of Diana Nemesis, and because of the lack of military designation. Tr(ibunus) or tr(ierarcha) are admitted to be just as plausible.

Translation (Author):
To Diana Nemesis, Aurelius Avitus, Thracian (or tribune, trierarch), has willingly, cheerfully, and properly given (this).

No. 66
Oehringen
Object Type: Fragments.
Provenience: "Rep. a. 1861 ab oppido inter septentrionem et orientem bei Gelegenheit des Eisenbahnbaus auf dem Gewande Wladreffen, ostlich [immo meridiem versus] an die obere Bürg antossend" (*CIL* for 6541 with which this inscription was discovered).
Date: P. Cornelius Annullinus was consul in 199 A.C.
References: *CIL* XIII.2/1.6542, and earlier references there; Schwertheim, E., *Die Denkmäler orientalischer Gottheiten im römischen Deutschland.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974, 196-97, no. 151.
Text (*CIL*):
[ ]MQVE [
] EIV[ ]
[ ]ESI P. COR. AN
O. LEG. AVG. PR[ ]
COH I. HELVE ET BRIT E[ ]
AVRE SVB. CVRA. G. V[ ]
TITI. S. LEG EX. CORN[ ]

l. 1-2: The restoration in the *CIL* is [Pro salute d. n. liberoru]mque [et tot(ius) d(omus) d(ivinae)] ẹiu[s]. If restored correctly, [d. n.] would be d(omini) n(ostri). The M is restored in the *CIL*, while the E is damaged but legible.
l. 3-4: The restoration in the *CIL* is [Nem]esi P. Cor(nelio) An(nullin)o leg(ato). Aug(usti) pr(o) [pr(aetore)]. P. is undoubtedly P(ublio). The E in [Nem]esi and the P in pr(o) are damaged but legible. The C in Cor(nelio) is

witten with a diminutive O placed within. The AN in An(nullin)o, the LE in le(gato), and the AV in Aug(usti) are all written in ligature.

l. 5: The restoration in the *CIL* is coh(ors) I. Helve(tiorum) et Brit(ones) e[t] [n(umerus)]. The C in coh(ors) is witten with a diminutive O placed within. The HE in Helve(tiorum), the ET, and the IT in Brit(ones) are wriiten in ligature. The ELV in Helve(tiorum) is damaged but legible, and the T in the second ET is damaged but enough remains to see that it had been written in ligature.

l. 6: The restoration in the *CIL* is Aure(lianensis) sub cura G(aii) V[al(erii)]. The C in cura is written with a diminutive V placed within. The G in G(aii) is written with the punctuation placed within. The RE in Aure(lianensis), S in sub, and the V in V[al(erii)] are all damaged but legible.

l. 7: The restoration in the *CIL* is Titi (centurionis) leg(ionis) ex corn(icularo) [co(n)s(ularis)]. The LE in leg(ionis) is written in ligature. The C in corn(icularo) is witten with a diminutive O placed within. The LEG in leg(ionis) and the EX are damaged but legible. The RN in corn(icularo) is damaged and supposed.

No. 67

Trier

Object Type: Broken base of statue with the feet of the figure remaining.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* XIII.1/2.4052.
Text (*CIL*):
N]EMESI. SABI[...
(damaged)

l. : The E in [N]emesi is damaged but legible.

No. 68

Trier

Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: In the vicinity of the amphitheater.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* XIII.1/2.3661, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
...]SATV[...
...]DEM. N. SA[...
...]CVSSC[...
...]RION[...

...]EIVS D[...
...]VS SECVN[...

l. 1: The S and V are damaged but legible.
l. 2: The restoration in the *CIL* is [ae]dem n(uminis) sa[nctae Nemesis]. The D and A are damaged but legible. The N has a solid line over it.
l. 4: The restoration in the *CIL* is [decu]rion[es](?). The R is damaged but legible.
l. 5: The E is damaged but legible.

Greece

No. 69
Andros
Object Type: Marble tabula.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: from above the door of the Panagia Kumuli Church.
Date: Unknown.
References: *IG* XII.5.730, and further references there.
Text (*IG*):
Νέμεσις
καὶ
Ἀδράστεια

l. 1: The Ν and second Σ are damaged but legible.

No. 70
Andros
Object Type: Cylindrical base.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Unknown.
References: *SEG* 34, 1984, no. 889; Zapheiropoulos, Ph., Archaiotetes kai Mnemeia Kukladon, *Archaiologikon Deltion* 32B, 308; Catling, H.W., Archaeology in Greece 1985-86, Archaeological Reports 1985-86, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 106, 1986, 74.
Text (Zapheiropoulos = Catling = *SEG*):
Νεμεσέως

No. 71
Athens
Object Type: Marble altar, 40 x 115 x 14 cm.
Provenience: Theater of Dionysos.
Date: Roman Imperial.

References: *CIA* III.208 = *IG* II-III,3.4747, and further references there.
Text (*IG*):
[Τή̣]ι Νεμέσει
[]υ̣[]λ̣[.....]σσα
.....]ε̣ως Βη
[σ]α[ι]εὺς ὁ προ
[στ]άτης τοῦ
ἱεροῦ.

l. 2: The *CIA* sees ΔΗ preserved before the ΣΣΑ. The *CIA* supplies Λ after ΣΣΑ.
l. 3: The *CIA* supplies ΜΩΝ before εως, giving a reading of the name on lines 2-3 as Σα[λ|μων]εως. The *IG* does not think an additional letter can be supplied after ΣΣΑ, and therefore does not agree with this restoration.

Translation (Author):
To (the) Nemesis (damaged) Be[s]a[i]eus the chief priest of the temple.

No. 72
Athens
Object Type: Inscribed seat.
Provenience: Theater of Dionysos.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIA* III.289; *IG* II-III,3.5070, and further references there.
Text (*CIA* = *IG*):
ΙΕΡΕΩΣ
ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑΣ
ΝΕΜΕΣΕΩΣ

l. 1: ἱερέως.
l. 2: οὐρανίας.
l. 3: Νεμέσεως.

Translation (Author):
Belonging to the priest of Nemesis Ourania.

No. 73
Athens
Object Type: Small altar.
Provenience: Found in 1873 just inside the city wall, in the Kerameikos.
Date: Roman Imperial.

References: Brueckner, A., Mitteilungen aus dem Kerameikos V, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Athenische Abteilung* 56, 1931, 26; *IG* II-III,3.4865.
Text (Brueckner = *IG*):
Νεμέσε[ι]
Θεᾷ ἐπηκ[ό]
ω εὐχὴν
[ἀν]έθηκ[εν]
(damaged)

No. 74

Corinth

Object Type: Marble altar, 62 x 33-34.5 x 29.7 cm. found E. of the Agora in 1915;
Provenience: East of the agora.
Date: First half of the second century A.C. was adduced because of the stationing of the legion (Dean 1922, 458), but the nomen of the dedicant suggests a date no earlier than the reign of Marcus Aurelius.
References: Dean, L. R., Latin Inscriptions from Corinth, *American Journal of Archaeology* 26, 1922, 451-76, 457-58, no. 23, fig. 5; West, A. B., *Corinth VIII, II: Latin Inscriptions 1896-1926*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931, 9-10, no. 10.
Text (West):
NEMESI AVGUSTAE
SACRUM
AVRELIVS NESTOR OPTIO
LEG IIII FL FEL EX VOTO

l. 1: The E in Augustae is damaged and restored.
l. 4: Leg(ionis) IV Fl(aviae) Fel(icis).

No. 75

Cos

Object Type: Marble stele fragment, 20 cm. high.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: in a nineteenth century house.
Date: Unknown.
References: Paton, W. R. & Hicks, E. L., *The Inscriptions of Cos*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891, 51-53, no. 29.
Text (Paton & Hicks):
----------ἀπ]οδείκ[ωῥνυσθαι· θυόντω δὲ καὶ τοὶ
τοὺς δούλου]ς καθίζοντες [ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἱερεῖον

ἀπὸ δραχμᾶ]ν πεντήκοντα καὶ [ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τούτῳ· παρα-
πλησίως δὲ] θυέτω καὶ τῶν ἐλευθε[ρομένων ἕκαστος·
----δὲ] καὶ τοὶ ταμίαι καὶ δέλτα[ν δόντω τοῖς ποι-
οῦσι τὰν ἀ]πελευθέρωσιν, μηδὲ ποι[εύντω τὰν ἀναγρ-
αφὰν τ]ᾶς ἀπολυτρώσιος αἴ κα μὴ ὁ ἱερ[εὺς ἀπαγγεί-
λῃ τὰν θ]υσίαν ἐπιτετελέσθαι, ἢ ὀφειλό[ντω-----
δραχμὰς] ἱερὰς Ἀδραστείας καὶ Νεμέσιο[ς· τὰν δὲ πό-
λιν τελέσ]αι τὸν ἱερῆ κατὰ τὰ νομιζόμε[να· στάλαν
δὲ λιθίναν κα]τασκευάξαι καὶ ἀναγράψα[ι τὰ συγγεγ-
ραμμένα πάντα] τὸν ἀποδειχθησόμενον [-------
------ἐπὶ] τὰν τελετὰν τοῦ ἱερέω[ς.
τὸ δ' ἀνάλωμα τᾶς ἀν]αγραφᾶς τοὶ ταμίαι(ε)[......καὶ
λογισάσθω μετὰ τᾶς ἄλ]λας δαπάνας· ὁ δὲ [πριάμενος
καταβολὰς ποιησεῖτα]ι τοῦ εὑρέματος [πέντε? τὰν μὲν
πράταν ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τῷ] Ἀλσείῳ τῷ ἐ[πὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
μονάρχου........ἐμ μ]ηνὶ Βαδρο[μιῷ------
------------ἐμ μ]ηνὶ Πα[νάμῳ------

No. 76
Delos

Object Type: Quadrangular base, 9 x 48 x 48 cm., supporting the fragments of a statue, of which only lower drapery and feet remain.
Provenience: Temple of Serapis
Date: First half of the first century B.C.
References: Hauvette-Besnault, A-M., Fouilles de Délos, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 6, 1882, 336-37, no. 38.
Text (Hauvette-Besnault):
Σωσίων Εὐμένους Οἰναῖος ἱερεύων Ἴσιδι
Νεμέσει

l. 2: The characters of the name Νεμέσει are spread to a width comparable to that of the first line.

No. 77
Delos

Object Type: Base, 26 x 40 x 25 cm.
Provenience: Temple of Serapis.
Date: First half of the first century B.C.
References: Hauvette-Besnault, A-M., Fouilles de Délos, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 6, 1882, 337, no. 39.
Text (Hauvette-Besnault):
Σωσίων Εὐμένους Οἰναῖος, ἱε-

ρεὺς ὤν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθη-
ναίων καὶ ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Νικομή-
δου ἀνέθηκεν τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλ-
μα Ἴσιδος Νεμέσεως, ἐπὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ
τῆς νήσου Διονυσίου τοῦ Νίκωνος
Παλληνέως.

No. 78
Delos

Object Type: Fragment of a column, 45 cm. high.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: First half of the first century B.C.
References: Hauvette-Besnault, A-M., Fouilles de Délos, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 6, 1882, 337-38, no. 40
Text (Hauvette-Besnault):
Ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Σαράπιδος
Σωσίων Εὐμένους Οἰναῖος
ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναί-
ων καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων,
Ἴσιδι Νεμέσει.

No. 79
Epidauros

Object Type: Altar, 73 x 74 x 22 cm., with an anaglyph of a circle containing cornucopiae.
Provenience: Sanctuary of Asklepios.
Date: Fourth century B.C. based upon letter forms (Blinkenberg 1899, 389).
References: Blinkenberg, C., Epidaurische Weihgeschenke, *Mitteilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Athenische Abteilung* 24, 1899, 389; *IG* IV.2.311.
Text (*IG*):
Τύχας
[Νεμ]έσεος

l. 2: Blinkenberg does not refer to this line; it only appears in the *IG*.

Translation (Author):
Belonging to Tyche Nemesis.

No. 80
Imbros

Object Type: Marble epistyle, 23.5 x 43 x 7 cm.

Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: "partem priorem olim in metroplis ecclesia servatam; altera nunc in parva metropolis aula servatur" (*IG*).

Date: First century A.C. (*IG*)

References: *IG* XII.8.79, and further references there.

Text (*IG*):

ἐπιμε[λ]ου̣μ̣[ένων τοῦ ἱερέ]ως τῆς Νεμέσεω̣[ς]
Νέστορος τοῦ Ἱερων[ύ]μ̣ου Μαραθωνίο[υ]
καὶ Εὐτύχου τοῦ Γλ[αύκω]νος Κηττίου

No. 81
Lindos

Object Type: Marble altar, 12 x 8 x 8 cm.

Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.

Date: Perhaps the first century A.C. based upon letter forms (Blinkenberg 1941, 962).

References: Blinkenberg, C., *Lindos II.2*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1941, 962, no. 644.

Text (Blinkenberg):

ANTIΓO
NOΣ
NEMEΣI
KATONEI
PON

l. 1-5: Ἀντίγονος Νέμεσει κατ' ὄνειρον.

No. 82
Methymna

Object Type: Plaque, 28 x 36 cm., featuring the two Nemeseis.

Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: in a church.

Date: Unknown.

References: *IG* XII.2 520, and further references there.

Text (*IG*):

ΣMYPNA

No. 83

Mytilene

Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: No earlier than 150 A.C. because of the date of the dedicant.
References: *SEG* 37, 1977, no. 489, and further references there.
Text (*SEG*):
Dedication of M. Pompeius Ethocus to μητέρα Νεμέσεως (Νύξ).

No. 84

Philippi

Object Type: Stele featuring a relief of Nike.
Provenience: Theater, western parodos passage.
Date: Late second or third centuries A.C. when the theater had been converted into facility for venationes and gladiators (Collart 1928, 124).
References: Chapouthier, F., Némésis et Nike, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 48, 1924, 287-303, 502, figs. 1 & 3; Collart, P., Le théatre de Philippes, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 52, 1928, 124; Collart, P., *Philippes, Ville de Macédone*. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1937, pl. XLVII.1-2; Robert, L., *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec*. Paris: Eduard Champion, 1940, 86, no. 23.
Text (Chapouthier = Robert):
Μ. Βελλεῖος Ζώσιμ[ος]|ἱερεὺς τῆς ἀνεικήτου Νεμ[έσε]|ως ὑπὲρ φιλοκυνήγων
τοῦ στέ[μ]|ματος|τὰ ἀφυδρεύ|ματα τῶ|ν θεῶν|ἐκκ τῶν ἰ|δίων ἐ|ποίησ|εν

l. 1: Μ. is undoubtedly an abbreviation for Μ(ᾶρκος) = the Latin M(arcus).
l. 2: The ΤΗΣ, the ΝΕ and ΗΤ in ἀνεικήτου, and the ΝΕ in Νεμ[έσε]|ως are all written in ligature.
l. 3: The ΠΕ in ὑπὲρ, the ΝΗΓ in φιλοκυνήγων, the final Ν in φιλοκυνήγων with the Τ in τοῦ, and the ΤΕ in στέ[μ]|ματος are all written in ligature.
l. 6: The ΤΩ in τῶ|ν is written in ligature.
l. 8: The ΤΩ in τῶν is written in ligature.
l. 10: The ΗΣ in ἐ|ποίησ|εν is written in ligature.

Translation (Author):
Marcus Bellius Zosimos, priest of the invincible Nemesis, on behalf of the association of lovers of hunting, made at his own expense, the water-tanks of the gods.

No. 85

Philippi

Object Type: Stele featuring a relief of Nemesis.

Provenience: Theater, western parodos passage.
Date: Late second or third centuries A.C. when the theater had been converted into facility for venationes and gladiators (Collart 1928, 124).
References: Chapouthier, F., Némésis et Nike, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 48, 1924, 287-303, 502, figs. 2 & 4; Collart, P., Le théatre de Philippes, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 52, 1928, 124; Collart, P., *Philippes, Ville de Macédone*. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1937, pl. XLVII.1-2; Robert, L., *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec*. Paris: Eduard Champion, 1940, 86-87, no. 23.
Text (Chapouthier = Robert):
[Μ. Β]ελλ[εῖος|Ζώ]σιμος ἱε[ρεὺς|τ]ῆς ἀνεικήτου Νε[μέσ]|εος

l. 1: The ΕΛΛ is damaged but legible.
l. 2: Despite the damage the ΩΣ in Ζώ]σιμος is written in ligature.
l. 3: The ΗΣ in τ]ῆς and the ΝΕ in ἀνεικήτου are written in ligature. The Υ in ἀνεικήτου and ΝΕ in Νε[μέσ]|εος are damaged and barely legible in the Chapouthier text.
l. 4: The Ε is not shown in the Chapouthier text.

Translation (Author):
Marcus Bellius Zosimos, priest of the invincible Nemesis.

No. 86
Philippi
Object Type: Stele featuring a relief of Ares.
Provenience: Theater, western parodos passage.
Date: Late second or third centuries A.C. when the theater had been converted into facility for venationes and gladiators (Collart 1928, 124).
References: Chapouthier, F., Un troisième bas-relief du théatre de Philippes, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 49, 1925, 239-244, figs. 1-2; Collart, P., Le théatre de Philippes, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 52, 1928, 124; Collart, P., *Philippes, Ville de Macédone*. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1937, pl. XLVII.3; Robert, L., *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec*. Paris: Eduard Champion, 1940, 87, no. 24.
Text (Chapouthier = Robert):
[Μ. Βελλεῖος...] λῆνος Ζώσιμος
[ἱερεὺς Νεμέσεω]ς τῆς θεοῦ ἀνεική-
[του ὑπὲρ φιλ]οκυνηγῶν τοῦ στέμ-
ματος
]ΜΑ
]ΚΕΜ
]ΝαΥ

]ΣΕΠΑ
]ΟΝΕΕ
]ΚΕΝΕ
...εὐ]χὴν?
]λ
...ἐκ τῶν ἰδί]ων τὰ
[ἀφυδρε]ύμα-
[τα.....] ΣΑ

l. 1: The ΗΝ in λῆνος and the ΩΣ in ζώσιμος are written in ligature.
l. 2: the ΗΣ in τῆς and the ΝΕ in ἀνεική|[του are written in ligature.
l. 3: The ΝΗΓ in φιλ]οκυνηγῶν, the Ν in φιλ]οκυνηγῶν with the Τ in τοῦ, and the ΤΕ in στέμ|ματος are all written in ligature.
l. 9: The ΝΕ is written in ligature.
l. 10: The ΝΕ is written in ligature.
l. 11: The ΗΝ is written in ligature.
l. 13: The Ν in ἰδί]ων is written in ligature with the Τ in τὰ.

Translation (Author):
Marcus Bellius (fillet?) Zosimos, priest of Nemesis the invincible deity, on behalf of the association of the lovers of hunting (damaged) from his own funds the water-tanks (damaged).

No. 87
Phliasia
Object Type: Slab.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown, reportedly found near the Asopus River; secondary context: used as a step in a house in Hagios Georgios.
Date: Unknown.
References: *IG* IV.444, and further references there.
Text (*IG*):
...............τ]ις[.................
καὶ ὅτι ἂν ποιῇς τῶ[ιδε,
εἰς σεαυτὸν τρεπέ[σθω·
ταῦτά σοι εὐχόμεθ[α.
εἰ δέ τι ἑκών, ἐξαμ[οιβὴν
οὐκ ἐμὸν ἐπαράσα[σθαι·
δίκη δὲ ἐπικρέματα[ί σοι
τιμωρὸς ἀπελθόν[τι περ
ἀπειθὴς Νεμέσε[ως.
(damaged line)

ʼΑρισ[τ]ομ[ε]ν[....
ἀεὶ κα[ὶ π]ανταχο[ῦ
μέ[ν]ο[ς θ]υμῷ ἢ κα[ρδίᾳ (?)

l. 2: The Ω in τῶ[ιδε] is damaged but legible.
l. 11: The Σ in ʼΑρισ[τ]ομ[ε]ν is damaged but legible.
l. 12: In the *IG* the Π in [π]ανταχο[ῦ is restored in place of the Ψ in the text.

No. 88
Piraeus

Object Type: Funerary stele.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Third century A.C.
References: Kaibel, G., *Epigrammata Graeca*. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1878, no. 119, and further references there.
Text (Kaibel):

Συνναδεὶς θεράπων ʼΑπολλώνιος ἐνθάδε μόσχου
   λειτῇ ὑπὸ στήλλῃ κέκλιμαι ὠκύμορος·
ἣν παρίοις εὔφημος ἀεί, ξένε, μηδʼ ἐπὶ λύμῃ
   χεῖρα βάλοις· φθιμένων ὠκυτάτη Νέμεσις.

Translation (Author):
Synnadeis Apollonios, servant, here I lie under a polished gravestone of a calf, dying prematurely; (a stele) which may you, stranger, pass by silently, and not cast a hand in disrespect; most swift is Nemesis of the dead.

No. 89
Piraeus

Object Type: Votive stele, featuring a relief of Nemesis.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Delamarre, M., Une dédicace a Némésis, *Revue de Philologie* 18, 1894, 266-70; Perdrizet, P., Némésis, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 22, 1898, 600.
Text (Delamarre = Perdrizet):

Εἰμὶ μέν,| ὡς ἐσορᾶς,| Νέμεσις μερόπων| ἀνθρώπων,
   εὔπτερος, ἀθα|νάτα, κύκλον ἔχουσα πόλου·|
πωτῶμαι δʼ ἀνὰ κόσμον| ἀεὶ πολυγηθεῖ θυμῷ,
   δερκομ|ένα θνατῶν φῦλον ἀεὶ γενεῶ|ν·
ἀλλά με σεμνὸς ἀνὴρ τεύ|ξες σοφὸς ʼΑρτεμίδωρος|
   στῆσεν ἐπʼ εὐχωλαῖς λαϊνέ|οισι τύποις.

l. 1-6: Inscribed above the relief.
l. 7-12: Inscribed below the relief.
l. 10-11: Perdrizet corrects the text from τεύ|ξες to τεύ|ξ(α)ς.

Translation (Author):
I am, as you discern, Nemesis of mortal men, well-winged, immortal, holding the wheel of the celestial sphere; I fly about the cosmos with happy heart, continually looking upon the race of mortal generations; but the holy, wise man Artemidoros made me stand in stone images in accord with his vows.

No. 90
Rhamnous

Object Type: Bronze helmet.
Provenience: A cistern in the Nemesis Sanctuary.
Date: c.499 B.C. because of the historical battle during which the helmet was taken (Petrakos 1984, 54).
References: Petrakos, B.Ch., Ραμνούντα, *ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑ* 1984, 54; Touchais, G., Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1984: Rhamnonte, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 109, 1985, 768-69. fig. 17; *SEG* 35, 1985, no. 24.
Text (Petrakos = Touchais = SEG):
Ῥαμνόσιοι οἱ ἐν Λέμνο̣[ι ἀ]νε[θεσαν Νεμ]έσει

l.: The Ρ and second Ο in Ῥαμνόσιοι, the Ε in ἐν, the Ν in Λέμνο[ι], and the Ε in [ἀ]νε[θεσαν] are damaged but legible.

Translation (Author):
The Rhamnousians in Lemnos dedicated (this) to Nemesis.

No. 91
Rhamnous

Object Type: Bronze wheel.
Provenience: Well shaft at the Nemesis Temple
Date: Archaic period, because of context.
References: Petrakos, B.Ch., Ραμνούντα, *ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑ* 1984, 54, fig. 77; Touchais, G., Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1984: Rhamnonte, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 109, 1985, 768-69. fig. 18.
Text (Petrakos = Touchais):
Ἑρόδορος ἀνέθεκεν

No. 92
Rhamnous
Object Type: Lead plaque.
Provenience: Same well shaft as the wheel (Inscription no. 91).
Date: Archaic Period, because of context.
References: Petrakos, B.Ch., Ραμνούντα, *ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑ* 1984, 55, fig. 78; Touchais, G., Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1984: Rhamnonte, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 109, 1985, 768-69. fig. 19.
Text (Petrakos = Touchais):
Τὸ χρέμα| ἀνέλοται| τὸς Ηιεροποιὸς| τὸ ἐν τοι μολυβδύοι| ηἰγραμμένο
Followed by the names of the hieropes, the amount collected by each, and the consignees of restitutions of funds to the public treasury.

No. 93
Rhamnous
Object Type: Marble throne.
Provenience: Sanctuary of Nemesis.
Date: Fourth century B.C., based upon the date of the priestess.
References: *CIA* 2(3).1571, and earlier references there; *IG* II-III(3).4638; Petrakos, B.Ch., Ἀνασκαφὴ Ραμνοῦντος, *ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ*, 1982 [1984], 159, no. 3; *SEG* 1984, 76, no. 193..
Text (*IG*):
ἐπὶ ἱερείας Καλλιστο[ῦς]
Νεμέσει
Σώστρατος
ἀνέθηκεν

l. 1: The *CIA* brackets the entire first line.
l. 2: Petrakos notes that Νεμέσει was inscribed twice in the same place.

Translation (Author):
In the time of the priestess Kallisto, Sostratos dedicated (this) to Nemesis.

No. 94
Rhamnous
Object Type: Marble base of a statue.
Provenience: Sanctuary of Nemesis.
Date: Unknown.
References: *CIA* 2(5).1233b, and further references there.
Text (*CIA*):

The dedication of the Lampadephoroi

No. 95
Rhamnous
Object Type: Marble base of a statue of Themis.
Provenience: Between the walls of the small temple (Themis temple).
Date: Fourth century B.C.
References: *CIA* 2(5).1233c, and further references there.
Text (*CIA*):
Μεγακλῆς Μεγακλ[έου]ς Ῥαμνούσ[ι]ος ἀνέθηκεν Θέμιδι στεφανωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν
δημοτῶν δικαι|οσύνης ἕνεκα ἐ[πὶ ἱ]ερείας Καλλιστοῦς καὶ Φειδοστράτης
Νεμέσει ἱερείας καὶ νικήσας παισὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι γυμνασιαρχῶν| καὶ κωμῳδοῖς
χορηγῶν| Χαιρέστρατος Χαιρεδήμου| Ῥαμνούσιος ἐποίησε

l. 1-3: The first and second lines are inscribed on the upper base moulding. καὶ Φειδοστράτης Νεμέσει ἱερείας in line 2 is actually below the moulding, in line 3. This portion, along with καὶ κωμῳδοῖς χορηγῶν, are suggested in the *CIA* to have been added to the inscription a little later than the original text.
l. 4-5: The lines are inscribed below the moulding.

Translation (Author):
Megakles, son of Megakles, Rhamnousian, dedicated (this) to Themis, having been crowned by the people on account of righteousness, having won both as gymnasiarch among boys and men, and as choregos in comedy performances, at the time of the priestess Kallisto and Pheidostrate, priestess to Nemesis. Chairestratos, son of Chairodemos, Rhamnousian, made (this).

No. 96
Rhamnous
Object Type: Marble fragment.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: Church of Hagia Paraskevi.
Date: 100/99 B.C., because of the archonship of Medeios.
References: *CIA* 2(5).1206b, and further references there.
Text (*CIA*):
.............]στα̣[...................]ου̣[....................]εὺς σ[τρ]α̣[τηγ]ὸς|[χειροτ]ο̣[ν]ηθεὶς
ἐπὶ Ῥαμ[νοῦ]ντα καὶ τὴν παραλίαν χώραν|[εἰς τ]ὸν ἐπὶ Μηδείου ἄρχοντες
ἐνιαυτὸν Διὶ Σωτῆρι καὶ Ἀθ[η]|νᾷ Σωτή̣ρᾳ καὶ Θέμιδι καὶ Νεμέσει ἀνέθηκεν.

No. 97
Rhamnous
Object Type: Marble stele.

Provenience: Sanctuary of Nemesis.
Date: 450/445 B.C.
References: *SEG* 10, 1949, no. 210, and further references there.
Text (*SEG*):
᾿Επ᾿ Αὐτοκλεί́δ|ο δεμαρχῦντο|ς: τȏ τε̂ς Νεμέσ|εος ἀργυρίο: κ|εφάλαιον: τô π|αρὰ τοῖσι τὰς| διακοσίας δρ|αχμὰς ὀφέλοσι| ΜΜΜ Ρ: ΧΧ: τô δὲ ἄ|λλο ἀργυρίου: τ|ô τε̂ς Νεμέσεο|ς: κεφάλαιον: Μ| ΧΧ Ρ ΗΗ ΔΔ Γ.....etc.

No. 98
Rhamnous

Object Type: Fragmentary stele.
Provenience: Sanctuary of Nemesis.
Date: 264/3 B.C.
References: *SEG* 24, 1969, no. 154, and further references there.
Text (*SEG*):
Inscription honoring Epichares, Athenian praetor, mentions the Temple of Nemesis in line 16.

No. 99
Rhamnous

Object Type: Fragment of a large marble base.
Provenience: Sanctuary of Nemesis.
Date: Fifth century B.C. (Petrakos 1975, 34)
References: Petrakos, B.Ch., ᾿Ανασκαφὴ Ραμνοῦντος, *ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ*,1975, 33-34; *SEG* 26, 1976, no. 270.
Text (Petrakos = *SEG*):
[..........]μ[............]
[Νεμέσ]ει ἀνέθε[σαν]

No. 100
Rhamnous

Object Type: Marble decree stele.
Provenience: Sanctuary of Nemesis.
Date: Late third century B.C., based upon letter forms (Petrakos 1979, 72).
References: Petrakos, B.Ch., Νέες ἔρευνες στὸν Ραμνούντα, *ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΣ*,1979 [1981], 72, no. 28; *SEG* 31, 1981, no. 112.
Text (Petrakos = *SEG*):
[..........εἶπεν· ἔδοξεν τοῖς ῾Ρα-]
[μνου]σίοι̣ς καὶ [τοῖς στρα-]
[τιώτ]αις τοῖς τε[τ]αγμέ-
[νοις τ]ῶι φρουρίωι, ἐπαινέσαι
[τ]ὸν ξεναγὸν Σώπολιν Σω[..-]

[...]ου Φωκέα καὶ στεφανῶ̣-
[σαι] χρυσῶι στεφάνωι κα-
[τὰ τ]ὸν νόμον καὶ τ̣οὺς στρα̣-
[τιώτ]ας τοὺς μέτ' αὐτοῦ θαλ-
[λοῦ σ]τεφάνωι εὐταξίας ἕνε-
[κα καὶ] εὐνοίας· ἀναγράψαι δὲ
[τόδε τ]ὸ ψήφισμα ἐν̣ σ̣τ̣ή̣[λ-]
[ηι λιθίν]ηι τοὺς ἐ[πιμελητὰς καὶ]
[στῆσ]αι ἐν τῶι ἱερ̣[ῶι τῆς]
[Νε]μ̣έσεως.

No. 101
Rhamnous

Object Type: Marble stele fragment.
Provenience: Sanctuary of Nemesis.
Date: Perhaps of a similar date to Inscription no. 100.
References: Petrakos, B.Ch., Νέες ἔρευνες στὸν Ραμνούντα, *ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΣ*,1979 [1981], 73, no. 30; *SEG* 31, 1981, no. 114.
Text (Petrakos = *SEG*):

[...]ωι
[...]ων τω
[..................ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ]δε τὸ
[ψήφισμα ἐν στήληι λιθί]νηι κ-
[αὶ στῆσαι τοὺς ἑλομέν]ους ἐ-
[ν τῶι ἱερῶι τῆς Νεμέσε]ως
(broken)

No. 102
Rhamnous

Object Type: Column fragment, 72 cm. in diameter.
Provenience: Near the southern wall of the Temple of Nemesis.
Date: Second or third century A.C. (*SEG* 34, 1984, no. 245).
References: *IG* II.2-3(3).4003, and earlier references there; Pouilloux, J., *La Forteresse de Rhamnounte*, Paris, 1954, no. 45; Petrakos, B.Ch., Ἀνασκαφὴ Ραμνοῦντος, *ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ* 1982 [1984], 159-60, no. 4; Petrakos, B.Ch, in *ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΤΟΥ Η' ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΤΙΝΙΚΗΣ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗΣ, ΑΘΗΝΑ 3-9 ΟΚΤΩΒΡΙΟΥ 1982, ΤΟΜΑΣ Α'*, 1984, 1.329.; *SEG* 34, 1984, 89, no. 245.
Text (*SEG* based on Petrakos 1984):

[A personal name, now gone, would have appeared here.]
τῆς μητρὸς καὶ̣ [Οἰνοφίλου Νεμέ]σ̣ει ἀ̣ν̣[έθηκεν]

As the *SEG* points out, Petrakos (1982 [1984]) upholds the earlier reading of [...]ΕΜΗΤΡΟΣ καὶ [Οἰ]νοφίλου Σ[...]Α[...] with only the Σ and Α in the last portion of the text shown legible, but he later (1984) reads τῆς μητρὸς καὶ [Οἰνοφίλου ....]ΣΙΙΑΙ[- -] and proposes the restoration above.

No. 103

Rhamnous

Object Type: Base of female statue.
Provenience: From the Themis Temple.
Date: Third century A.C., based on letter forms (*CIA*)
References: *CIA* 2(5).1380b
Text (*CIA*):

Θέμιδι καὶ Νε[μ]έσει
Ἱεροκλῆς Ἱεροποιοῦ Ῥαμνούσιος
ἀνέθηκε τὴν μητέρα Ἀριστονόην
Νικοκράτου Ῥαμνουσίου ἱέρειαν
Νεμέσεως.

No. 104

Rhodes

Object Type: Marble altar.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: First century B.C., based upon letter forms (Kontorini 1983, 63-64).
References: Kontorini, V., *Rhodiaka I. Inscriptions inédites relatives à l'histoire et aux cultes de Rhodes au IIe et Ier S. av. J.-C.* Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut supérieur d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, Collège Erasme, 1983, 63-64, no. 4; *SEG* 33, 1983, no. 645.
Text (Kontorini = *SEG*):

Ἀδραστείας
καὶ Νεμέσιος

No. 105

Thasos

Object Type: Relief of Nemesis, considered to be a stele until Bernard & Salviat (1962) identified it as the left marble anta of the proskenion.
Provenience: Found in secondary context near the theater, in "la vigne Δημητριάδης" (Mendel 1900); clearly originated in the theater.
Date: Third century A.C., because of the restoration of the theater (Bernard & Salviat 1962, 603).
References: Bent, J.T., Inscriptions from Thasos, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 8, 1887, 417, no. 19; Mendel, G., Inscriptions de Thasos, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 24, 1900, 271; *IG* XII.8.371; Bernard, P. &

Salviat, F., Inscriptions de Thasos, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 86, 1962, 599-600.
Text (Bent = *IG* = Bernard & Salviat):
Εὐήμε
ρος Διο
νυσίου
Νεμέσει
εὐχήν

Translation (Author):
Euhemeros, son of Dionysios, (has fulfilled) a vow to Nemesis.

No. 106

Thasos

Object Type: Slab, said to have been associated with a relief, which one is uncertain.
Provenience: West gate of the city.
Date: Third century A.C. because it is thought to relate to the theater—that the dedicant was a gladiator (Bernard, P. & Salviat, F., Inscriptions de Thasos, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 86, 1962, 603).
References: Bent, J.T., Inscriptions from Thasos, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 8, 1887, 417, no. 18; *IG* XII.8.372; Dunant, C. & Pouilloux, J., *Études thasiennes V: recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos II*. Paris: École français d'Athènes, 1958, 162.
Text:
(Bent)
Κέρδων Μέγ[ας?]
ὁ καὶ Σίσ[ιρ]ος Νε
μέσει ἀπαλλα
γεὶς ε[ὐπλοία]ς
εὐχήν

(*IG*):
Κέρδων Μέγ[ωνος?]
ὁ καὶ Σίσ[υφ]ος Νε
μέσει ἀπαλλα
γεὶς ε[........]ς
εὐχήν

l. 1: The ΜΕ is shown damaged and restored in the *IG*.
l. 4: A leaf is placed between γεὶς and ε[........]ς. The *IG* proposes to restore ε[........]ς as ἐ[πιληψία]ς?.

Translation (Author):
Kerdon, son of Megon, also called Sisyphos, (has fulfilled) a vow to Nemesis, having escaped (from a good voyage?).

No. 107

Thasos

Object Type: Marble altar, 82 x 32 x 25 cm.
Provenience: Found in secondary context near the theater, in "la vigne Δημητριάδης" (Mendel 1900); originally from the theater.
Date: Third century A.C., because of restoration of the theater (Bernard, P. & Salviat, F., Inscriptions de Thasos, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 86, 1962, 603).
References: Mendel, G., Inscriptions de Thasos, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 24, 1900, 271, no. 14; *IG* XII.8.373.
Text (Mendel = *IG*):

Ἔγλεκτος καὶ
Πινυτὴ
Νεμέσεσιν
εὐχήν

l. 2: The line is shown damaged but legible in Mendel.

Translation (Author):
Egklektos and Pinyte, (have fulfilled) a vow to the Nemeseis.

No. 108

Thasos

Object Type: Marble fragment, 55 x 45 x 15 cm., with a relief of a woman wearing a long belted chiton and himation, with her left hand at her side and her right hand on a cista on a pillar.
Provenience: Uncertain exact provenience, although the theater or the area between the Agora and the Odeon, where two Nemesis statues were found, has been suggested.
Date: No earlier than the second century A.C. because of the sigma form C not S (Bernard & Salviat 1962, 596-97, 603).
References: Dunant, C. & Pouilloux, J., *Études thasiennes V: recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos II*. Paris: École français d'Athènes, 1958, 162; Bernard, P. & Salviat, F., Inscriptions de Thasos, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 86, 1962, 596-97.
Text (Dunant & Pouilloux = Bernard & Salviat):

Νεμέσ[ει

l.: The Σ is damaged but legible.

Translation (Author):
To Nemesis.

No. 109

Thessaloniki

Object Type: Funerary stele, featuring a relief of Nemesis.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: courtyard of the Konak.
Date: 261/2 A.C. because the date 293 in E. Macedonia, particularly Thessaloniki, would have followed the Actium Era of 32/1 B.C. (Papazoglou, F., Notes d'épigraphie et de topographie macédoniennes, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 87, 1963, 525-26).
References: Hogarth, D.G., Inscriptions from Salonica, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 8, 1887, 363-364, no. 5; Treu, G., *Olympia III: Die Bildwerke von Olympia in Stein und Thon.* Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1897, 237, fig. 265.
Text (Treu):
ΛΚΑΝΟΥΛΕΙΟΣ
ΖΩΣΙΜΟΣΑΥΤ̣ΩΖΩΝ
(Nemesis Image)
ΚΑΙΚΑΝΟΥΛΕ
ΙΑΠΟΤΑΜΙΛΑ
ΤΕΗΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕ
ΡΑΚΑΙΕΥΕΡ
ΓΕΤΙΣΗΜΝΗ
ΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ
ΕΤΟΥΣΓϙΣ

Hogarth's Interpretation:
Λ(ύκιος) Κανουλεῖος Ζώσιμος αὐτῷ ζῶν καὶ Κανουλείᾳ Ποταμίλᾳ τῇ ἀπελευθέρᾳ καὶ Εὐέργετ’ ἴσῃ(?) μνήμης χάριν ἔτους Γϙ Σ.

l. 1: Leaves frame the line and a leaf separates Λ from Κανουλεῖος.
l. 5: ΤΕΗ, and the ΠΕ in ἀπελεύθε|ρα are written in ligature.
l. 6: There is a leaf at the end of the line.
l. 7-8: The ΜΝΗ and ΜΗΣ in μνήμης are written in ligature. There is a leaf at the end of line 8.
l. 9: A leaf separates ἔτους from the date.

Translation (Author):
Lucius Canouleius Zosimos, living by himself. Both for Canouleia Potamila, the (his) freedwoman and for Euergetis, (his) equal. For the sake of remembrance. Of year 293.

No. 110
Thessaloniki
Object Type: Small marble plaque, 29 cm. in height, featuring a depiction of Nemesis.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: built into a brewery.
Date: Second or third centuries A.C. based upon letter forms (Perdrizet 1914, 89-91).
References: Perdrizet, P., Némésis, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 38,1914, 89-91
Text (Perdrizet):
Διὶ ὑψίστῳ θεὰν δικαί|αν Νέμεσιν |Κό. Φ|ούριος Οὐρβα|νὸς ἀνέθη|κεν εὐχή|ν.

l. 1: The ΘΕ in θεὰν is written in ligature.
l. 2: The ΝΕ in Νέμεσιν is written in ligature.
l. 3-5: Κό. is probably an abbreviation for Κό(ΐντος), Greek for the Latin Qu(intus). The ούριος is written below the Φ, while the Οὐρβα|νὸς is written below the Κό.
l. 5-6: The ΝΕ and ΚΕ in ἀνέθη|κεν, and the Ν in ἀνέθη|κεν with the Ε in εὐχή|ν are all written in ligature.

Translation (Author):
For Zeus Hypsistos, Quintus Furius Urbanus has dedicated a just goddess Nemesis as a vow.

Hungary
No. 111
Aquincum
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: in the Countess Schechiny's House (*CIL*).
Date: 219 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.3484, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
NEMESI
AVG. M. AVR
VALENS

QVOT CLAVI
VOVIT. VE. PS
LEG. II AD. ANTO
IMP. DN. ANTONI
NO II SACER
DOTI COS

l. 2: The interpretation in the *CIL* is Aug(ustae) M. Aur(elius). The M is an abbreviation for M(arcus). The VR in Aur(elius) is written in ligature.
l. 3-4: The interpretation in the *CIL* is Valens quot clavi (in caliga or caligatus ?). The O in quot is smaller than the other letters. The AVI in clavi is written in ligature.
l. 5: The interpretation in the *CIL* is vet(eranus) p(o)s(uit). The VT in vovit is written in ligature with the I following. The ET in vet(eranus) is written in ligature.
l. 6: The interpretation in the *CIL* is leg(ionis) II ad(iutricis) Anto(ninianae), which was stationed at Aquincum. The II has a solid line over it. The ANT in Anto(ninianae) is written in ligature, and the O is smaller than the other letters.
l. 7-9: The interpretation in the *CIL* is imp(eratore) d(omino) n(ostro) Antonino II sacerdote co(n)s(ulibus). The DN, and the AN and NI in Antonino are written in ligature. The first O in Antonino is smaller than the others letters.

No. 112
Aquincum
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: No earlier than the reign of M. Aurelius because of the imperial nomen of the dedicant.
References: *CIL* III.3485, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
DEAE. NEMESI AVG
PRO. SALVTE
AVRELIAE AVDE
NTIAE. FILIAE
SVAE ET PRO SVA
INCOLVM. AVREL
AVDENTIVS. C. R. P
AQVI. ET SACER PRO
VINCI LIBENTI ANI
MO SVSCEPTA

[vot]A. CONPLEVIT

l. 1: Aug(ustae) or Aug(usti). The ESI in Nemesi incline towards the right. A solid line runs between the first and second lines.
l. 2: There is a leaf at the end of the line.
l. 6: incolum(itate) Aurel(ius).
l. 7-8: The interpretation in the *CIL* is c(urator) r(ei) p(ublicae) Aqui(ncensium) et sacer(dotalis) provinci(ae).
l. 9: There is a leaf at the end of the line, and a solid line runs between this line and the next.
l. 10: The A in [vot]a is damaged but legible. The IT in conplevit incline towards the right.

No. 113
Aquincum
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: "ad montem Schneckenberg nächst der Krempelmühle rep. a. 1876" (CIL). Probably originally from the city amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: June 24, 214 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.10439, and earlier references there; *ILS* 3741.
Text (*CIL* = *ILS*):
PRO. SALVTE. D. N.
IMP. M. AVREL. AN
TONINI. AVG.
AVRELI. FLORVS. ET. M
ERCATOR. II. VIR. Q. Q
C[ol] AQ. TEMPLVM.
[ne]MESIS. VETVSTATE
[con]LAPSVM. RESTITVER
[messalla] ET. SABI. COS. VIII K IVL
[d. d. a]VR. SVRO. SALA.

l. 1: d(omini) n(ostri).
l. 2: imp(eratoris) M(arci) Aurel(ii).
l. 3: Aug(usti).
l. 4: Aureli(us).
l. 5: II. VIR. Q.Q. are the duumviri quinquennales. The CA in Mercator is damaged but legible.
l. 6: According to the *ILS* the first portion of the line should be read C[ol(oniae)] Aq(uincensis). The C in C[ol(oniae)] is damaged but legible. The VM in templum is written in ligature.

l. 7: The M in [Ne]mesis is damaged but legible. The TE in vetustate is written in ligature.
l. 8: restituer(unt). The AP and VM in [con]lapsum, and the TI and VE in restituer(unt) are written in ligature.
l. 9: [Messalla] et Sabi(no) co(n)s(ulibus), which makes the date of the dedication 214 A.C. VIII K(alendas) Jul(ias). The ET is written in ligature. The first and last I in the date are larger than the other letters. The K in k(alendas) is smaller than the pther letters, the I in Iul(ias) is larger than the other letters, and the VL in Iul(ias) is written in ligature.
l. 10: The *CIL* proposes to read Suro as an ablative or dative of the cognomen Surus, although the form Suro is also attested as a nominative (*CIL* III.5095, 7453). Depending upon how one interprets the case, the line may be restored as an ablative absolute [d(onum) d(edicanti) A]ur(elio) Suro sala(riario) or the nominative [d(onum) d(edit) A]ur(elius) Suro sala(riarius).

Translation (Author):
For the well-being of our lord, the emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Aurelius Florus and (Aurelius) Mercator, *duumviri quinquennales* of Colonia Aquincum restored the temple of Nemesis which had collapsed from age. They have given (this) as a gift under the consulship of Messalla and Sabinus, eight days from the Kalends of July (June 24), with Aurelius Surus, *salariarius*, giving (this) as a gift.
or
Under the consulship of Messalla and Sabinus, eight days from the Kalends of July (June 24). Aurelius Suro, *salariarius*, has given (this) as a gift.

No. 114
Aquincum
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: City amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: June 27, 259 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.10440, and earlier references there; *ILS* 3742.
Text (*CIL* = *ILS*):
A| DEAE. DIANAE NEMESI. AVG. | ET
E | HONORIBVS ET FAORIBVS | B
M| C. IVL. VICTORINI EQ. P. AEDILI | A
I | II. VIRALI. ET. T. FL. LVCIANO | S
L | Q. II VIRALI PONTIFICIBVS | O
I | QQ. COL. AQ. | C
A| PVPILI. HYLIATIANVS | O
N| ANTESSTIS. NVMIN. I EIVS | S
O| DEAE POSVIT. V. KAL. IVLIAS |

Restoration in the *CIL*:
Deae Dianae Nemesi Aug(ustae) honoribus et fa(v)oribus C. Iul(i) Victorini eq(uo) p(ublico) aedili(cio?), II virali, et T. Fl. Luciano q(uaestoricio?), II virali, pontificibus, q(uin)q(uennalibus) col(oniae) Aq(uinci) Pupili(us) Hyliatianus antesstis numini eius deae posuit V kal. Iulias.... Aemiliano et Bas(s)o cos.

l. 1: The DE and AE in deae, the AE in Dianae, the NE and ME in Nemesi, and the AV in Aug(ustae or -i) are written in ligature.
l. 2: The ET, and the VS in fa(v)oribus are written in ligature.
l. 3: C(aio). The AE in aedili(cio) is written in ligature, and the second I is placed outside the border to the right.
l. 4: T(ito) Flav(io). The II has a solid line over it. The LI in virali is witten with the I diminutive and placed within the L. The ET is written in ligature. The O in Luciano is smaller than the other letters.
l. 5: The Q has a solid line through it diagonally. The II has a solid line over it. The LI in virali is witten with the I diminutive and placed within the L. The VS in pontificibus is written in ligature.
l. 6: The QQ has a solid line through it.
l. 7: The LI in both Pupili and Hyliatianus is written with the I diminutive and placed within the L.
l. 8: The NT in antesstis is written in ligature. The NI in numini is written diminutively on either side of the punctuation, with the N placed above and to the right of the numi and the I placed above and to the left of eius.
l. 9: kal(endas). The DE and AE in deae, the AL in kal(endas) and the VL in Iulias are all written in ligature. The O in posuit is smaller than the other letters.
Along the side: Aemilano et Basso co(n)s(ulibus), which dates the dedication to 259 A.C. The ET is written in ligature.

Translation (Author):
To the goddess Diana Nemesis Augusta because of the honor and favor bestowed upon Gaius Julius Victorinus, member of the Equestrian Order, former aedile, former *duumvir*, and Titus Flavius Lucianus, former quaestor, former *duumvir*, (both) priests, *quinquennales* of Colonia Aquincum. Pupilius Hyliatianus, priest, erected (this) to the divine power of this goddess on the fifth before the Kalends of July (June 27), under the consulship of Aemilianus and Bassus.

No. 115

Aquincum

Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: City amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: August 21, 162 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.10441, and earlier references there; *ILS* 3740.
Text (*CIL* = *ILS*):

NEMESI
OMNIPOTEN
TI. AVG
M. VLPIVS
ZOSIMVS
XII. K. SEPT. RVS
TICO. II. ET. AQVILINO[...

l. 1: The OT is written in ligature, and the E is written backwards.
l. 3: Aug(ustae) or Aug(usti).
l. 4: M(arcus).
l. 6: XII K(alendas) Sept(embres).
l. 7: The II refers to the second consulship of Rusticus. The second consulship of Rusticus, with Aquilinus, dates the dedication to 162 A.C. The II has a solid line over it. The ET, and the LI and NO in Aquilino are written in ligature.

Translation (Author):
To Nemesis, all-powerful Augusta, Marcus Ulpius Zosimus on the twelfth before the Kalends of September (August 21), under the consulship of Rusticus, for the second time, and Aquilinus (damaged).

No. 116

Aquincum

Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: City amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* III.10442, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):

NEMESI M.
TETEDIVS.
ACATHIM[...

l. 1: M(arcus). The ME in Nemesi is written in ligature.
l. 2: The second TE in Tetedius is written in ligature.

l. 3: The restoration in the *CIL* is Agathimarus. The HIM is damaged but legible. The HI is written in ligature.

Translation (Author):
To Nemesis, Marcus Tetedius Agathimarus (damaged).

No. 117
Aquincum
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: City amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: Reign of Alexander Severus (222-235 A.C.) because of the emperor named in the inscription and the imperial nomen of the dedicant which can be as early as the reign of M. Aurelius but is often a sign of the work of the 212 A.C. constitutio Antoniniana. The reign of Septimus Severus (193-211 A.C.) is possible as well.
References: *CIL* III.10443, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
(broken)
GENIO
LOCI.
M. AVR.
(broken)
SVRVS
IVNIOR
IMP. D. N. SE
[vero]

l. 3: The line is damaged but legible.
l. 4-5: The second S in Surus and the R in iunior are damaged but legible.
l. 6: Imp(eratore) d(omino) n(ostro). The IMP is written in ligature.

Translation (Author):
(broken) To the Genius Loci, Marcus Aurelius (broken) Surus, the younger. Under the emperor, our lord, Se(verus?).

No. 118
Aquincum
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: City amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* III.10444, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):

...]IC[...
...]O[...
(Broken)
...]CAS[sius...
...]VAL[erius...
...]AR VESC[...
...]C CAVINIV[s...
...]T CASSIV[s...
...]VAL[erius...
...]CASSIVS[...
...p]ORTAS[...

l. 2: The O is damaged but legible.
l. 5: The first C is damaged but legible. The AV in Caviniu[s] is written in ligature and the second V is damaged but legible.
l. 6: The V in Cassiu[s] is damaged but legible.
l. 8: The CA and V in Cassius is damaged but legible.
l. 9: The O is damaged but legible.

No. 119
Aquincum
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: but probably from the city amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* III.10445, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
(Broken)
...]COL A(?)[...
...]POPII. HYLATA[...
...]KAL. IVLIAS[...
(Broken)

l. 1: The COL is damaged but legible, while the A is barely discernable. The restoration in the *CIL* is col(oniae) A[quinci].
l. 2: The restoration in the *CIL* is Popi[l(ius)] Hyliat[i]a[nus].
l. 3: kal(endas).

Translation (Author):
(broken) Colonia A(quincum?)...Popil(ius) Hyl(i)at(i)[anus?]...kalends of July (broken).

No. 120
Aquincum
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: City amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* III.10446, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
(Broken)
...]FA[...
...]AMES[...
..c]HRYSAN[...
...]TVS[...
...]MIL FV[...
...]TI[...
...]ASO[...
(Broken)

l. 2: The AM is written in ligature.
l. 3: The H is damaged but legible.
l. 5: The M is damaged but legible.
l. 6: The TI is damaged but legible.
l. 7: The A is damaged but legible.
There is a fragment with ET, written in ligature, which is associated with this inscription in the *CIL*.

No. 121
Aquincum
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: City amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* III.10447, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
(Broken)
...]ER[...
...]C FABI[...
...]NVS P IIV[ir...
(Broken)

l. 1: The ER is damaged and could just as easily be read LR.
l. 2: The C and I are damaged but legible. The A is written without the crossbar.

l. 3: The N and second V are damaged but legible. The VS is written in ligature, and the II has a solid line over it.

No. 122
Aquincum
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: City amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* III.10448, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
(Broken)
...]AS.[...
(Broken)

l.: The A is damaged but legible.

No. 123
Aquincum
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: City amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* III.10449, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
(Broken)
...]ME[...
...]INST.A[...
(Broken)

l. 1: The ME is written in ligature and is damaged but legible.
l. 2: The A is damaged but legible.

No. 124
Aquincum
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: City amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* III.10450, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
(Broken)
...]NAE[...
(Broken)

l.: The N is damagaed but legible, and the AE is written in ligature.

No. 125
Aquincum
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: City amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* III.10451, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
(Broken)
...]LE[...
...]SLA[...
(Broken)

l. 1: The LE is damaged but legible.

No. 126
Aquincum
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: City amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* III.10452, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
(Broken)
...c]OLA[q...
...v]S.L.M.

The *CIL* notes that five lines are missing.

No. 127
Aquincum
Object Type: Marble altar.
Provenience: Legionary amphitheater, in the fosse.
Date: No earlier than the reign of M. Aurelius because of the imperial nomina of the dedicants.
References: Picard, C., Nouvelles et correspondance: théatres et amphithéatres antiques en Hongrie, *Revue Archéologique* 42, 1953, 107-8; Colin, J., Quelques trouvailles originales a Aquincum-Budapest, *L'Antiquité Classique* 23, 1954, 148-49.
Text (Picard):
NEMESI REG AVG [Aurelius] VINDI
CIANVS CORNICVL PRF ET MARC AVR VINDEX

IVNIOR
FILIVS EIVS

l. 1: Reg(inae) Aug(ustae) or Aug(usti).
l. 2: cornicul(arius) pr(ae)f(ecti), Marc(us).

Translation (Author):
To Nemesis Regina Augusta, [Aurelius] Vindicianus, *cornicularius* to the praefect, and Marcus Aurelius Vindex the younger, his son.

No. 128
Pecs (Sopianae)
Object Type: Limestone altar, 72 x 23 x 15 cm.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *L'année épigraphique* 1984, 210, no. 729, and further references there.
Text (*L'année épigraphique*):
NEME
SI AVG(ustae)
P(ublius) NIGR(ius)
QVIN
TILIA
NVS
B(ene)-F(iciarius) CO(n)S(ularis)

l. 1: The NE is written in ligature.
l. 3: The IGR in Nigr(ius) is written in ligature.

No. 129
Savaria
Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: "in arcis interioris muro; in nova arce episcopali" (*CIL*).
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* III.4161, and earlier references there; Balla, L., et al., *Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1971, 89, no. 39.
Text (*CIL* = Balla, et al.):
NEMESI
AVG(ustae). SAC(rum)
HELIODORVS

AVG(usti). N(ostri). VIL(icus) Relief: Cornucopiae
STAT(ionis). SAVAR(iensis)
PRO. SAL(ute). SVA
ET. SVORVM
V(otum). S(olvit). L(ibens). M(erito)

l. 1: Nemesi is written larger than the subsequent lines.
l. 3: The DO is written in ligature.
l. 5: The AR in Savar(iensis) is written in ligature.

Translation (Author):
Dedicated to Nemesis Augusta (or -i). Heliodorus, manager of the Savarian post for our Emperor, has willingly and properly fulfilled a vow for the well being of himself and his (family).

No. 130
Savaria
Object Type: Sandstone altar, 1.13 x .57 x .36 m.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: The absence of a praenomen in the dedicant's name makes a date in the second half of the second century A.C. or later likely (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969, 27; Gordon, A.E., *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 22).
References: *CIL* III.10911, and earlier references there; Balla, L., et al., *Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1971, 89, no. 37.
Text:
(*CIL*)
Frag. 1st line restored as:
NEM AVG SAC
Then better preserved are:
VAR. VRSVS
VIR SACERD
OMNIBVS
HONORIB[us
FVNCTVS
V. S. L. L. M.
SATRIVS FIMINV[s
NTESTIS PATRON[...

l. 1: Only the N and each A, written without the crossbar, are preserved.
l. 2: The A in Var. is written without the crossbar.
l. 3: The D in Sacerd(otalis) is smaller than the other letters.
l. 5: The line is damaged but legible.
l. 6: The line is damaged but legible.
l. 8-9: The interpretation in the *CIL* is Satrius Fi(r)minu[s] (a)ntestis (in honorem) patron[i] (posuit). The AT in Satrius, the NV in Fi(r)minu[s], and the NT in (a)ntestis are all written in ligature.

(Balla, et al.):
NEM(esi) SA[cr(um)]
VALER(ius) VRSVS
VIR SACERD(otalis)
OMNIBVS
HONORIBVS
FVNCTVS
V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) L(aetus) M(erito)
VALERIVS FI(r)MIN(us)
ANTESTIS PATRONO

Translation (Author):
Dedicated to Nemesis (Augusta?). Valerius Ursus, man of sacerdotal status, having discharged all honors, has willingly, cheerfully and properly fulfilled a vow. Valerius Firminus, priest, for (his) patron.

No. 131
Savaria

Object Type: Sandstone altar, 74 x 36 x 27 cm.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: The absence of a praenomen in the dedicant's name makes a date in the second half of the second century A.C. or later likely (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969, 27; Gordon, A.E., *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 22).
References: *CIL* III.13423, and earlier references there; Balla, L., et al., *Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1971, 89, no. 36.
Text:
(*CIL*)
N[ ]MESI A
S.VA.LE
AT.T.A.P[ ]S[ ]

V.S.L.L.M

l. 1: The N and the E are damaged but legible. The A is smaller than the other letters, and is written without the crossbar.

(Balla, et al.):
NEMESI A[ug(ustae)]
S(acrum) VALE(rius)
ATTA P[ro] S[e]
V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) L(aetus) M(erito)

Translation (Author):
Dedicated to Nemesis Augusta (or -i). Valerius Atta has willingly, cheerfully and properly fulfilled a vow for himself.

No. 132
Savaria
Object Type: Marble altar, 144 x 73 x 50 cm.
Provenience: In the depression at the site of "Calvary Hill", a depression very probably marking the place of the ancient theater.
Date: Datable between the reorganization of Pannonia Superior by Trajan and the change in the name of Siscia under Septimius Severus (Balla, et al. 1971, 89).
References: Balla, L., et al., *Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria.* Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1971, 89, no. 38; *L'année épigraphique* 1972, 115, no.389; Picard, C., Nouvelles et correspondance: théatres et amphithéatres antiques en Hongrie, *Revue Archéologique* 42, 1953, 107
Text (Balla, et al. = *L'année épigraphique*):
NEMESI
AVG(ustae) SAC(rum)
L(ucius) VAL(erius) VALERIAN(us)
DEC(urio) COL(oniae) FL(aviae) SISC(iensium)
IIVIR I(ure) D(icundo) FLAMEN
DIVI CL(audii) IIVIR Q(uin)Q(uennalis)
SAC(erdos) P(rovinciae) P(annonia) S(uperioris) EX VOT(o)

Translation (Author):
Dedicated to Nemesis Augusta. Lucius Valerius Valerianus, decurion of Colonia Flavia of the Siscians, *duumvir jure dicundo*, priest of the divine Claudius, *duumvir quinquennalis*, priest of the province of Pannonia Superior, from a vow.

No. 133

Scarbantia

Object Type: Unspecified.

Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: "in hortis monasterii monialium" (*CIL*).

Date: Roman Imperial.

References: *CIL* III.10939, and further references there.

Text (*CIL*):

NEMESI
AVG. SAC
C. VAL. VEIEΛS
NOM. SVO. ET CO[n
V. S. L. M

l. 2: Aug(ustae or -i) sac(rum). The A in Aug(ustae or -i) is written without the crossbar.
l. 3: C(aius) Val(erius). The interpretation in the *CIL* is Veiens. The A in Val(erius) is written without the crossbar. The S in Veiens is damaged but legible.
l. 4: The interpretation in the *CIL* is nom(ine) suo et co[n(iugis).
l. 5: v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Israel

No. 134

Caesarea Philippi

Object Type: Rock carving.

Provenience: In situ, near one of the sources of the Jordan River.

Date: Roman Imperial.

References: *CIG* III.4537, and further references there.

Text (*CIG* based on Seetzenius):

ΥΠΕΡΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣΤΩΝΚΥΡΙΩΝ
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΩΝ
Ο[ ] ΑΛΕΡ[........]ΠΑΝΟΣΙΕΡΕΥΣΘΕΟΥΠΑΝΟΣΤΗΝ
ΚΥΡΙΑΙ[ ]Ν[ ]ΜΕΣΙΝΚΑΙΤΟΝ[ ]ΥΝΤΗΥΠΑΥΤΟΥΙΟΙΛΑΝ
ΟΕΙΣΗΠΟΡ[ ]ΙΕΛΕΣΙΟΥΡΓ[....]ΝΤΑ[....]ΙΑΥΤΗΟ[....
ΝΚΕΜΩΞΔΗΡΩ
ΙΜΝΠ

l. 3: Burckhardt is cited by the *CIG* as reading ΑΝΟΣ for ΠΑΝΟΣ.
l. 4: Burckhardt is cited by the *CIG* as reading ...ΚΥΡΙΛΙ...ΕΙΟΝ... ΔΥΤ ΟΥ...ΙΛΑΝ.
l. 5: Burckhardt is cited by the *CIG* as reading ...ΟΘΙ.ΙΠ...ΡΕΔΘ.ΙΟΥΡΠ ...ΝΤΑ...ΥΤΗΟ.

l. 6-7: Burckhardt is cited by the *CIG* as not mentioning these lines.

CIG interpretation:
ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν κυρίων Αὐτοκρατόρων....Ο[ὐ]αλέρ[ιος][....]πανός, ἱερεὺς θεοῦ Πανός, τὴν κυρία[ν] Ν[έμ]εσιν καὶ τὸν [σ]ὺν τῇ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ [προ]αν[ατεθ]είσῃ [κ]ό[γχῃ τ]ελεσιουργ[ηθέ]ντα [σηκὸ] αὐτῆ[ς......

No. 135

Erez

Object Type: Base of a marble statue of a griffin with a wheel.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context.
Date: Dated 522 of the Seleucid Era = 210/211 A.C.
References: Leiboveitch, J., Le griffin d'Erez et le sens mythologique de Nemesis, *Israel Exploration Journal* 8, 1958, 141-48, pls. 25-26.
Text (Leiboveitch):

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΒΚΦ
ΜΕΡΚΟΥΡΙΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑ
ΙΕΡΩΜΕΝΟΣ

Ἔτους ΒΚΦ Μερκούριος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀνέθηκα ἱερωμένος.

No. 136

Gaza

Object Type: Funerary stele.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: End of the third century B.C.
References: Peek, W., *Griechische Grabgedichte*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960, 112, no. 162, and further references there.
Text (Peek):

ἐξ εὐδαιμοσύνης πῦρ ἄγριον ἤλυθεν ὑμέων,
    Χαρμάδα, ἔσφηλεν δ' ἐλπίδα τις Νέμεσις·
ὤλετο μὲν κοῦρος συνομώνυμος, εἴκοσι μούνας
    δυσμὰς Ἀρκτούρου χειμερίας ἐσιδών,
ὤλετο δ' ἑπταέτις θυγάτηρ Κλεοδόξα
    Ἀρχαγάθας, γονέων δ' ἔκλασεν εὐτεκνίην·
οἰκτρὸν δὲ Αἰτωλὸς κούρην κώκυσε Μάχαιος·
    ἀλλὰ πλέον θνητοῖς οὐδὲν ὀδυρομένοις.
ἦ μὴν ἀμφοτέρους γε παλαίπλουτοι βασιλῆες
    Αἰγύπτου χρυσέαις ἠγλάισαν χάρισιν·
ὡς δὲ πάτραν δμηθεῖσαν Ἀνώπολιν ἐκ δορὸς ἐχθρῶν
    ὤρθωσας, Κρήτην μαρτυρέουσαν ἔχεις.

μέμψασθαι δὲ θεοῖς ἀρκεῖ μόνον ἄνδρα γε θνητόν·
ῶ παῖ Τασκομένους, γήραος ὡς χαλεποῦ
ἤντησας, ψυχῇ δὲ τὰ μύρια πάντα πονήσας
ἵκεο τὴν κοινὴν ἀστρατὸν εἰς ᾿Αίδεω.

Translation (Contributed by Ippokratis Kantzios):
From your good fortune has come a savage fire, Charmades, and some Nemesis has overthrown your hope. One the one hand, (your) child of the same name died having seen only twenty winter settings of (the star) Arktouros, while one the other hand, (your and) Archagatha's seven year old daughter, Kleodoxa, died, and broke her parents' fortunate issue. Aetolian Machaios lamented the child pitiably, but there is no gain for mortals who wail. Indeed, the kings of Egypt, with their ancient wealth, glorified (you?) both with golden gifts, and you have Crete as witness how you straightened up your fatherland Anopolis which had been subdued by the enemy spear. It is enough for a mortal man only to blame the gods. O child of Taskomenes, you met with a difficult old age, and, having labored ten thousand fold in your soul, you have come by universal invincible (road) into the house of Hades.

Italy

No. 137

Aquileia

Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Seconary, "rep. a. 1852 in fundo Antonii Stabile" (*CIL*).
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* V.812, and earlier references there; Pascal, C.B., *The Cults of Cisalpine Gaul*. Collection Latomus LXXV. Bruxelles-Berchem: Latomus, 1964, 38-40.
Text (*CIL*):
NEMESI

No. 138

Aquileia

Object Type: Altar, to the left and right of the inscription, are relief scenes of a dog dragging down a hind and a hare.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: "rep. a. 1851 ad. pontem S. Felicis" (*CIL*).
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* V.813, and earlier references there; Pascal, C.B., *The Cults of Cisalpine Gaul*. Collection Latomus LXXV. Bruxelles-Berchem: Latomus, 1964, 38-40.

Text (*CIL*):
NEMESI
AVG. SAC
C. TVRRANIVS
SOZOMENVS
IIIIII. VIR. EX. VISV

l. 1-2: The letters are written larger than those of the subsequent lines. Aug(ustae) or Aug(usti) sac(rum).
l. 3: C/G(aius).
l. 4: IIIIII VIR represents sexvir. The first and last I in the number are written larger than the other letters in the line.

Translation (Author):
Dedicated to Nemesis Augusta (or -i). Caius Turranius Sozomenus, *sexvir*, from a vision.

No. 139
Aquileia
Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* V.8241, and earlier references there; Pascal, C.B., *The Cults of Cisalpine Gaul*. Collection Latomus LXXV. Bruxelles-Berchem: Latomus, 1964, 38-40.
Text (*CIL*):
NEMESI
AVGVSTE
SACRVM
SEPTIMIVS
V. P

l. 5: v(otum) p(osuit).

No. 140
Aquileia
Object Type: Cippus with winged wheel to left of the inscription, rudder to right.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: "rep. monasterii" (Pais).
Date: Roman Imperial.

References: Pais, H., *Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum, Supplementa Italica I*, Rome: Accademia dei Lincei, 1888, 22, no. 167, and earlier references there; Pascal, C.B., *The Cults of Cisalpine Gaul.* Collection Latomus LXXV. Bruxelles-Berchem: Latomus, 1964, 38-40.
Text (Pais):
NEMESI
EX
VISO

No. 141
Aquileia
Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: "rep. ad aedes Leonardi Andrian" (Pais).
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Pais, H., *Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum, Supplementa Italica I*, Rome: Accademia dei Lincei, 1888, 22, no. 166, and earlier references there; Pascal, C.B., *The Cults of Cisalpine Gaul.* Collection Latomus LXXV. Bruxelles-Berchem: Latomus, 1964, 38-40.
Text (Pais):
NEMESI
AVG
...]ACVTIO
[re]I. P(ublicae). SER(vus)
.......]CIO

l. 4: The I is damaged and restored.
l. 5: The C and I are damaged and restored.

No. 142
Aquileia
Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Must be later than the reign of Marcus Aurelius because of the nomen of the dedicant. Suggested to date to the 238 A.C. unsuccessful siege of Aquileia by Maximinus (Pascal 1964, 38-40).
References: Brusin, G., Epigrafe votiva bilingua di Aquileia, *Collection Latomus XLIV: Hommages à L. Herrmann*, 1960, 219-227, Tav. XIX, Fig. 4; Pascal, C.B., *The Cults of Cisalpine Gaul.* Collection Latomus LXXV. Bruxelles-Berchem: Latomus, 1964, 38-40.
Text (Pascal):
N(emesi?). AVG(ustae)

AVR(elius). LE
ONTIVS
SALVIS
[A]QUILEI(ensibus)
(damaged)

l. 1: The G in Aug(ustae) is not visible in the Brusin photograph.
l. 5: The line is damaged but sufficiently legible to be reconstructed.

No. 143
Aquileia

Object Type: Marble slab, 49 x 48.5 x 1.8 cm.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: built into the wall of a late Roman house.
Date: 256 A.C., because of the consuls named in line 14.
References: Brusin, G., Epigrafe votiva bilingua di Aquileia, *Collection Latomus XLIV: Hommages à L. Herrmann*, 1960, 219-227, Tav. XVI, Fig. 1a+b; Pascal, C.B., *The Cults of Cisalpine Gaul.* Collection Latomus LXXV. Bruxelles-Berchem: Latomus, 1964, 38-40.
Text (Brusin):
[Ἀγαθ]ῆ̣ Τύχ[η̣
...τῆ π]ατρίω θεᾶ Ἀρτ[έμιδι.
Εἰς δόξαν [μ]εγ[ά]λην τῆς λαμπρο-
τάτης Ἀκυλειησίω[ν] πόλεως καὶ τοῦ συν-
εδρίου τῶν περὶ τὴν θεὰν Νεμεσιακῶν
κυναγέτων θρησκείαν.
Τιβ(έριος) Κλαύδιος Μάγνος Ἐφέσιος
καὶ βουλευτὴς τῆς Ἀκυλειησίων πόλε-
ως, τοῦ συνεδρίου πάτρων, τὰς στοὰς
τοῦ ναοῦ λίθω ποικίλω σκουτλώσας
καὶ ζωγραφήσας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλω-
μάτων ἐκόσμησα καὶ ἀφειέρωσα.
Καθιερώθη τὸ ἔργον ἰδ(οῖς) Αὐγούστ(αις)
Μαξίμ[ω κ]αὶ Γλαβρίωνε ὑπάτοις.
Tib(erius) Claud(ius). Magnus
dom(o) Ephesius, dec(urio). co[
l(oniae) Aquil(eiae, -eiensis, -eiensium)
hi]rundo?
(the remainder is fragmentary)

l. 1: The letters in this line are larger than those in subsequent lines of the Greek text.

l. 2: τῆ π]ατρίω θεᾶ must be τῇ π]ατρίῳ θεᾷ even though Brusin does not show them in the dative.
l. 6: θρησκείαν is not incised but painted.
l. 10: λίθω ποικίλω must be λίθῳ ποικίλῳ even though Brusin does not show them in the dative.
l. 15: The letters in this line are larger than those in subsequent lines of the Latin text. The G in Magnus is damaged and restored based upon the name in line 7.

Translation (Author):
For good fortune...For the (his) ancestral goddess Artemis. For the purpose of the great glory of the most illustrious city of the Aquileians and for the purpose of the religious worship connected with the goddess (Artemis) on the part of the board of the Nemesiaci hunters. Tiberius Claudius Magnus, Ephesian and the senator of the city of the Aquileians, patron of the board, having decorated the porches of the temple with multi-colored stone and having painted (them) from his own expenses, he prepared and consecrated (them). The work was consecrated on the Ides of August, under the consulship of Maximus and Glabrio.
Tiberius Claudius Magnus, in native country Ephesian, decurion of the colony of Aquileia (or of the Aquileians)...

No. 144
Brescia
Object Type: Altar, 67 x 41 x 45 cm.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: encased in a wall in the Piazza Tito Speri.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Degrassi, N., Brescia, In *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, 1950, 41, no. 13, fig. 9; Pascal, C.B., *The Cults of Cisalpine Gaul.* Collection Latomus LXXV. Bruxelles-Berchem: Latomus, 1964, 38-40.
Text (Degrassi):
(Dedicated by a woman who is associated with a well known Brescian family, the Iuventii, whose other inscriptions show that it yielded 3 consuls and perhaps a procurator of Sardinia—Degrassi 1950, 41-42)
[N]EMESI AVG(ustae)
SACRUM
IVVENTIA
STEPHANE
EX VOTO

l. 1: The AV in Aug(ustae) is written in ligature.

No. 145
Capua

Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary contexts: "prope civitatem orientem versus in villa q. d. il Fico; extat adhuc parieti infixa in via qua a Tifidis monte Volturnum fl. itur; scilicet prope S. Angelum in formis masseria Rengozzini in ipsa porta vidi a. 1873" (*CIL*).
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* X.3812, and earlier references there; *ILS* 3737.
Text (*CIL* = *ILS*):

ΔΕΣΠΟΙΝΗ ΝΕΜΕΣΕΙ
ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΝΑΟΙΣΙ ΘΕΟΙΣΙΝ
ΑΡΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΒΩΜΟΝ
ΤΟΝΔΕ. ΚΑΘΕΙΔΡΥΣΑΤΟ
IVSTITIAE. NEMESI.
FATIS QVAM VOVERAT. ARAM.
NVMINA SANCTA COLENS
CAMMARIVS. POSVIT. sic

l. 1-4: Δεσποίνῃ Νεμέσει καὶ συννάοισι θεοῖσιν ’Αρριανὸς βωμὸν τὸνδε καθειδρύσατο. The ο in καθειδρύσατο is smaller than the other letters.
l. 8: Attention is called in the *CIL* to the different names of the dedicant in the Greek and Latin inscriptions. The *ILS* sees the Greek name as the cognomen of the dedicant.

No. 146
Herculaneum

Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary contexts: "Resinae in villa Nugent, antea Riario" (*CIL*).
Date: Dated after the 79 A.C. Vesuvius eruption, presumably based upon letter form (*CIL*).
References: *CIL* X.1408, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):

NEMESI. SANCT.
SACR
Q. PONT. EVSCHE
MVS. V. S. L. M

l. 1: sanct(ae). The CT is written in ligature.
l. 2: sacr(um).
l. 3: Q(uintus) Pont(ius).
l. 4: v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Translation (Author):
Dedicated to Holy Nemesis. Quintus Pontius Euschemus has willingly and properly fulfilled a vow.

No. 147

Ostia

Object Type: Marble base, with, in relief, a urceus to the right of the inscription and a patera to the left.
Provenience: Near the Temple of the Mother of the Gods.
Date: Roman Imperial
References: *CIL* XIV.34, and earlier references there; *ILS* 4111.
Text (*CIL* = *ILS*):
On the edge:
P[.......................]C F
On the base itself:
(damaged) II
ELICIS Q CAECILIVS
FVSCVS ARCHIGAL
LVS CLONIAE OSTEN (sic)
SIS. IMAGINEM
MATRIS DEVM. AR
GENTEAM. P. I. CVM.
SI.GNO NEMESEM
KANNOPHRIS (sic)
OSTIENSIBVS D D

l. on edge: The C and F are damaged and of doubtful reading. The *ILS* restores as p[ro salute imp. Cae/saris].
l. 1: The II is damaged and of doubtful reading; the *ILS* reads it as [F].
l. 2: Q(uintus).
l. 4-5: Attention is called in the *CIL* to the missing letters in C(o)loniae Ost(i)ensis.
l. 9: Attention is called in the *CIL* to the missing letter in kannoph(o)ris.
l. 10: d(onum) d(edit).

No. 148
Panormus

Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: “in domo praetoria” (*CIL*).
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* X.7268, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):

DEAE. NEMESI
M. GELLIVS. CA[...
EX[.....................
B[.......................

l. 2: M(arcus). There is a damaged letter shown after the CA which may be either a D or a P.
l. 4: The letter B is damaged and may be a D.

No. 149
Rome

Object Type: Marble altar.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary contexts: “in domo Pomponii (laeti) doctiss. viri in Monte Caballo; nella casa del Pomponio Leto già del Capitan Cecio Romano; in casa de Mess. Tullio Censi nel Quirinale; in aedibus privatis in Quirinali ad D. Hieronymum; apud Stephanum Longum; apud Passionem; in foro Traiani, errore” (*CIL*).
Date: Reign of Gordian, 238-244 A.C. because of the name of the urban cohort to which the dedicant belonged.
References: *CIL* VI.531, and earlier references there; *ILS* 3739.
Text (*CIL* = *ILS*):

on side	VIRGINI VIC	
DED	TRICI SANCTE	sic
KAL. IAN	DEAE NEMESI	
	M AVRELIVS	
	ROMANVS	
	OPTIO KARC	
	CHOR XII VRB	
	GORDIANAE	
	D P	sic

l. 1: The letters are larger than those in the subsequent lines.
l. 2: Attention is called in the CIL to the missing letter in sanct(a)e.

l. 4: M(arcus). There is a leaf between M(arcus) and Aurelius as well as at the end of the line.
l. 6: There is a leaf between optio and karc(eris) as well as at the end of the line.
l. 7: C(o)hor(tis) XII Urb(anae). A leaf is inscribed between c(o)hor(tis) and the number XII.
l. 9: d(onum) p(osuit). Attention is called in the *CIL* to the unusual formula used here, preferring the customary d(onum) d(edit).
on side: ded(icavit) kal(endas) Ian(uarias).

Translation (Author):
To the virgin conqueror, holy goddess Nemesis, Marcus Aurelius Romanus, prison adjutant of Urban Cohort XII Gordiana, has erected a gift.

No. 150
Rome
Object Type: Marble Plaque.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary contexts: "apud praes. Zelada; olim apud Cavaceppium; a. 1773 in museo Vaticano" (*CIL*).
Date: Roman Imperial
References: *CIL* VI.532, and earlier references there; *ILS* 3738.
Text (*CIL* = *ILS*):
ΜΕΓΑΛΗ ΝΕΜΕΣΙΣ. Η
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΥΣΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜ
MAGNA. VLTRIX. REGINA. VRBIS sic
EX VISV
HERMES. AVG. LIB. VILICVS
EIVSDEM. LOCI. ARAM. ET
CRATERAM CVM BASI. BICAPITE
D. D.

l. 1-2: Μεγάλη Νέμεσις ἡ βασιλεύουσα τοῦ κόσμ(ου). The letters of the Greek portion of the text are larger than those of the Latin portion.
l. 3: Attention is called in the *CIL* to the use of urbis as a translation of κόσμου; it should be mundi.
l. 5: Aug(usti) lib(ertus).
l. 8: d(onum) d(edit).

Translation (Author):
Great Nemesis, the queen of the universe.

Great Ultrix, queen of the city. From a vision, Hermes, freedman of the Emperor, estate manager of the same place, has given as a gift an altar and crater with two-headed base.

No. 151

Rome

Object Type: Marble tabula. Fragment of statue wearing caligulae with an animal to the left (Nemesis and a griffin ?).
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary contexts: "in domo de Francisci Albarini; Iacobum appellant; Iulium; in aedibus privatis prope Pantheon; apud Borgiam" (*CIL*).
Date: 117-138 A.C. or later because of Imperial nomen of the dedicant, and must come from one of the reigns of joint Augusti—M. Aurelius & Lucius Verus; M. Aurelius & Commodus; etc.
References: *CIL* VI.533, and earlier references there; *ILS* 2008.
Text (*CIL* = *ILS*):

NEMESI
SANCTAE
CAMPESTRI. PRO SA
LVTE. DOMINORVM
NN. AVGG. P. AEL. P. F.
AELIA. PACATVS.
SCVPIS. QUOD. COH. DOC
TOR. VOVERAT. NUNC.
CAMPI. DOCTOR. COH. I
PR. PV. SOMNIO. ADMO
NITVS. POSVIT. L. L

l. 1: Letters are larger than those of the subsequent lines.
l. 2: Letters are larger than those of the subsequent lines.
l. 5: Should be interpreted as nostrorum Augustorum P(ublius) Ael(ius) P(ublii) F(ilius). The NN and the AUGG have a solid line over them.
l. 6: Aelia(nus).
l. 7: coh(ortis).
l. 9-10: coh(ortis) I Pr(aetoriae) P(iae) V(indicis). The cohort number I and the PR have a solid line over them.
l. 11: l(aetus) l(ibens). Each L has a solid line over it.

No. 152

Rome

Object Type: Marble aedicula. On the right side is a relief of a Victory bearing a palm, on the left side is apparently Sol, and on the front above the main inscription are reliefs of Mars, Jupiter, and Nemesis shown with a measuring stick in her left hand, making her gesture with her right hand, and with a wheel by her right foot.

Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: June 29, 246 A.C.
References: *CIL* VI.2821; *ILS* 2096.
Text (*CIL* = *ILS*):
Left side:
DED III KAL. IVL PRESENTE ET ALBINO [COSS]
Front:
I.O.M. ET. MARTI. ET. NEMESI [et]. SOLI. ET. VICTORIAE. ET. OMNIBVS
DIIS. PATRIENSIBVS. CIV. EX. PROV. BELGICA. AVG. VIROMANDOL
ORV. MILITES. IVL. FVSCVS. COH. I. PRAET. 7. ALBANI. ET
FIRM. MATERNIANVS. COH. X. PRAET. PHILIPPIANARVM
7 ARTEM[on]IS V S L M

l. on left side: ded(icaverunt) III kal(endas) Iul(ias), Presente et Albino [consulibus], which dates the dedication to 246 A.C. The O in Albino is damaged but legible.
l. 1: I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo).
l. 2-3: civ(es) ex Prov(inciae) Belgica(e) Aug(ustae) Viromandoloru(m). The *ILS* reads Viromandoloru(m) as Viromanduoru(m).
l. 3: Iul(ius) Fuscus coh(ortis) I Praet(orie) 7 (=centuriae) Albani. The *ILS* reads Fuscus as Iustus. The cohort number I has a solid line over it.
l. 4: Firm(us or -icus) Maternianus coh(ortis) X Praet(oriae).
l. 5: 7 (=centuriae) Artem[on]is v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibens) m(erito).

No. 153
Rome
Object Type: Marble Stele.
Provenience: Via Appia, the Triopeion of Herodes Atticus.
Date: After the death of Regilla, 161 A.C..
References: *IG* XIV.1389.II, and further references there.
Text (*IG*):
Πότνι' Ἀθηνάων ἐπιήρανε Τριτογένεια,
ἥ τ' ἐπὶ ἔργα βροτῶν ὁράαις, Ῥαμνουσιὰς Οὖπι,
γείτονες ἀγχίθυροι Ῥώμης ἑκατοντοπύλοιο,
πείονα δὴ καὶ τόνδε, θεά, τειμήσατε χῶρον,
δῆμον Δηῴοιο φιλόξεινον Τριόπαο,
τόφρα κε καὶ Τριόπειαι ἐν ἀθανάτοις ἀλέγησθον.

ὡς ὅτε καὶ Ῥαμνοῦντα καὶ εὐρυχόρους ἐς Ἀθήνας
ἤλθετε, δώματα πατρὸς ἐριγδούποιο λιποῦσαι,
ὣς τήνδε ῥώεσθε πολυστάφυλον κατ’ ἀλωήν,
λήιά τε σταχύων καὶ δένδρεα βοτρυόεντα
λειμώνων τε κόμας ἁπαλοτρεφέων ἐφέπουσαι.
ὔμμι γὰρ Ἡρώδης ἱερὴν ἀνὰ γαῖαν ἕηκε
τὴν ὅσσην περὶ τεῖχος ἐύτροχον ἐστεφάνωται,
ἀνδράσιν ὀψιγόνοισιν ἀκινήτην καὶ ἄσυλον
ἔμμεναι· ἡ δ’ ἐπί οἱ ἐξ ἀθανάτοιο καρήνου
σμερδάλεον σίσασα λόγον κατένευσεν Ἀθήνη,
μή τωι νήποινον βῶλον μίαν ἢ ἕνα λᾶαν
ὀχλίσσαι, ἐπεὶ οὐ Μοιρέων ἀτρεῖες ἀνάγκαι,
ὅς κε θεῶν ἐδέεσσιν ἀλιτροσύνην ἀναθήῃ.
κλῦτε, περικτίονες καὶ γείτονες ἀγροιῶται,
ἱερὸς οὗτος ὁ χῶρος, ἀκὶνητοι δὲ θέαιναι
καὶ πολυτίμητοι καὶ ὑποσχεῖν οὖας ἕτοιμαι·
μηδέ τις ἡμερίδων ὄρχους ἢ ἐ[π’] ἄλσεα δενδρέων
ἢ ποίην χιλῶι εὐαλδέι χλωρὰ θέουσαν
δμωὴν κυανέου Ἀίδος [π]ήξειε μάκελλαν,
σῆμα νέον τεύχων ἠὲ πρότερον κεραίζων·
οὐ θέμις ἀμφὶ νέκυσσι βαλεῖν ἱρόχθονα βῶλον,
πλὴν ὅ κεν αἵματος ἦισι καὶ ἐκ γένος ἐσσαμένο[ιο·
κείνοις δ’ οὐκ ἀθέμιστον, ἐπεὶ τιμάορος ε[ἵ]στωρ·
καὶ γὰρ Ἀθηναίη [ποτ’] Ἐριχθόνιον βασιλῆα
νηῶι ἐνκατέθηκε συνέστιον ἔμμεναι ἱρῶν.
εἰ δέ τωι ἄκλυτα ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἐπιπείσεται αὐτοῖ[ς,
ἀλλ’ ἀποτιμήσ[ε]ι, μή οἱ νήτιτα γένηται,
ἀλλά μιν ἀπρόφατος Νέμεσις καὶ ῥόμβος ἀλάστωρ
τίσονται, στυγερὴν δὲ κυλινδήσει κακότητα·
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἴφθιμον Τριόπεω μένος Αἰολίδαο
ὤναθ’, ὅτε νειὸν Δημήτερος ἐξαλάπαξεν.
τῶι ἤτοι ποινὴν καὶ ἐπωνυμίην ἀλ[έ]ασθα[ι
χώρου, μή τοι ἕπηται ἔπι Τρ[ι]όπειος Ἐρινύς.

l. 18: The ε is written smaller and above the line between the ι and Σ in ἀτρεῖες.

l. 19: The ε is written smaller and above the line between the Δ and ε in ἐδέεσσιν.

l. 25: The ε is written smaller and above the line between the Ξ and ι in [π]ήξειε .

Translation (Contributed by Ippokratis Kantzios):
Thrice-born, helpful Lady of Athens, you who look upon the deeds of mortals, and Rhamnousian Oupis, neighbors next door to hundred-gated Rome, goddesses, honor this rich place too, the hospitable country of Triopian Demeter, as long as you two are counted as Triopians among the immortals. As when you came to Rhamnous and wide-spaced Athens, having left the dwellings of (your) thundering father, thus move with speed through this vineyard rich in grapes, traversing standing crops of ears of wheat, and stalks full of grapes, and foliage of rich pastures. For Herodes set aside for you the sacred land, as much as the well-wheeled wall crowned around, to be unmovable and a refuge for late-born men; and Athena, shaking the awesome crest of her helmet from her immortal head, consented: no one should disturb a single clod of earth or a single stone without punishment, since the constraints of the Fates are not fearful to him who at the abodes of the gods offers as a votive gift sinfulness. Listen, neighbors and rustic borderers, this place is sacred and the goddesses (are) immovable and much-honored and ready to lend an ear; and may no one, by producing a new tomb or plundering the previous one, stick in the pick-axe, running over the rows of cultivated vines or groves of trees, or the green grass for well-grown fodder, a slave to dark blue Hades. It is not lawful to throw around the corpses a sacred clod of earth, except for one who has been both by blood and ancestry related to them. To those it is not unlawful, since the avenger is wise; for once Athena deposited the Erichthnonian king in the temple to be a sharer of the offerings. But if these things are unheeded by someone and he is not convinced by them but fails to honor them, let these not be without punishment, but unexpected Nemesis and avenging wheel will punish him and roll (upon him) hateful misfortune. For neither mighty Aiolian Triopos derived any benefit when he sacked the fallow-land of Demeter. Therefore, avoid the punishment and the (sur)name of the place so that the Triopian Erinys will not pursue you.

No. 154
Venafrum

Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Amphitheater.
Date: If the *CIL* is correct in its dating of Inscription no.146, this inscription dates sometime after 79 A.C.
References: *CIL* X.4845, and further references there.
Text:

NEMESI. SANCT
SACR
Q. PONT. EVSCHE

MVS. V. S. L. M

l. 1: sanct(ae). The CT is written in ligature.
l. 2: sacr(um).
l. 3: Q(uintus) Pont(ius).
l. 4: v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Translation (Author):
Dedicated to Holy Nemesis. Quintus Pontius Euschemus has willingly and properly fulfilled a vow.

No. 155
Verona
Object Type: Funerary stele.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: "in hortulo divi Zenonis" (*CIL*).
Date: Probably no earlier than the reign of M. Aurelius because of the name of the wife of the deceased.
References: *CIL* V.3466, and earlier references there; *ILS* 5121; Robert, L., *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec*. Paris: Eduard Champion, 1940, 18, 307 n. 1; Pascal, C.B., *The Cults of Cisalpine Gaul*. Collection Latomus LXXV. Bruxelles-Berchem: Latomus, 1964, 40.
Text (*CIL* = *ILS*):
Above inscription is a dagger, offering altar, and incense shovel.
D. M
GLAVCO. N. MVTI
NENSIS. PVGNAR
VII. O. VIII. VIXIT
ANN. XXIII. D. V
AVRELIA. MARITO
B. M. ET. AMATORES
HVIVS. PLANETAM
SVVM
PROCVRARE
VOS. MONEO. IN
NEMESE. NE. FIDEM
HABEATIS
SIC. SVM. DECEPTVS
AVE. VALE

l. 1: D(is) M(anibus).
l. 2: n(atione). The N has a solid line over it.

l. 3: pugnar(um).
l. 4: The O has a solid line through it. The *ILS* interprets the line O VIII as “mortuus octava”. Robert (p. 18), in agreement, interprets it as θ⟨ανών⟩.
l. 5: ann(is) XXIII d(iebus) V.
l. 7: b(ene) m(erenti).

Translation (Author):
To the Spirits of the Dead. To Glaucus, by race from Mutina, fought seven, died in the eighth, lived 22 years, 5 days. Aurelia to (her) well-deserving husband, and his friends (fans/partisans). I warn you to attend to his own planet. Put no faith in Nemesis. In this way I have been deceived. Hail, goodbye.

No. 156
Vicetia

Object Type: Tabula ansata.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary contexts: “Rep. Montegaldae; Vicetiae apud Angelum Calvi; postea apud Tornierium” (*CIL*).
Date: No earlier than the reign of Trajan when the Legion XXX Ulpia Victrix was created, and probably before 212 A.C. when statements of filiation become infrequent (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969, 28).
References: *CIL* V.310, and earlier references there5; Pascal, C.B., *The Cults of Cisalpine Gaul.* Collection Latomus LXXV. Bruxelles-Berchem: Latomus, 1964, 38-40.
Text (*CIL*):
NEMESI. SACR
A. CONSIDIVS.
M. F. Q. N. CAPI
TO. MIL. L. XXX.
VLP. VIC. V. S.

l. 1: sacr(um).
l. 2: A(elius or -urelius).
l. 3: M(arci) f(ilius) Q(uinti) n(epos).
l. 4-5: mil(es) L(egionis) XXX Ulp(iae) Vic(tricis) v(otum) s(olvit).

Jordan

No. 157
Gerasa

Object Type: Block, 89 x 64 cm.

Provenience: Temple of Nemesis located on the road north of the city towards the Birketein Theater.
Date: Second century A.C. (Kraeling 1938, 393).
References: Kraeling, C. H. (ed.), *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis.* New Haven: ASOR, 1938, 393, no. 40, and further references there.
Text (Kraeling):

῾Η Νέμεσις καὶ τὰ παρακείμενα καὶ ὁ βω[μὸς]
ἐγένετο ἐκ διαθήκης Δημητρίου ᾿Απολλοφάνο[υς]
διὰ ἐπιμελητῶν Νικομάχου Αὐσᾶ τοῦ Νικομάχο[υ]
καὶ ᾿Αμύντου Μάλ[χ]α τọῦ̣ Νικο[μάχου]

l. 4: The facsimile of Schumacher reads ΜΑΛΚΑΤΕ̣Ι̣Ν̣Ι̣Κ̣. Kraeling follows the restoration of Clermont-Ganneau.

No. 158

Gerasa

Object Type: Blocks.
Provenience: Temple of Nemesis located on the road north of the city towards the Birketein Theater.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Kraeling, C. H. (ed.), *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis.* New Haven: ASOR, 1938, 393, no. 41, and further references there.
Text (Kraeling):

A B
Αὐ]τοκρά[τορος Καί]σαρος

Libya

No. 159

Leptis Magna

Object Type: Two Marble stelae with depictions of a griffin with a wheel, and a limestone base.
Provenience: Amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: Late second or early third century A.C. (Di Vita-Evrard 1990).
References: Di Vita, A., Archaeological News: Leptis Magna, *Libya Antiqua* 1, 1964, 136; Di Vita-Evrard, G. Private communication 3/90
Text:
All Dedicated to Nemesis Augusta by M. Iunius Crescens, duumvir QQ.

Macedonia

No. 160

Scupi

Object Type: Marble altar, 63 x 26 x 17 cm.

Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: reemployed in the E. Necropolis.
Date: First half of the second century A.C. (*L'année epigraphique* 1977, no. 726).
References: *L'année epigraphique* 1977, 192, no. 726, and further references there.
Text (*L'année epigraphique*):
NEMESI
AVG(ustae) SAC(rum)
P(ublius) PETILIVS
MERCA
TOR DEC(urio)
COL(oniae) IIVIR

No. 161
Stobi
Object Type: Inscription on a statue base, 86 x 46 x 20 cm.
Provenience: Theater, center room of the skene building, apparently a Nemesis shrine, 2.6 x 2.25 m.
Date: Probably the later third century A.C., based upon archaeological investigation of the site and use of Deus as a title for the emperor which first appears in Latin epigraphy under Aurelian (Papazoglu 1952, 293).
References: Saria, B., Das Theater von Stobi, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Insituts, Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1938, 106; Papazoglu, F., Natpis iz Nemezejona i datovanje Stobskog pozorista/L'inscription du Néméseion et la date du théatre de Stobi, *Ziva Antika* 2, 1952, 279-93.
Text (Saria):
DEO CAES(ari) AVG(usto)
P(ater) P(atriae) ET MVNIC(ipio)
STOB(ensium) VLTRICEM
AVGVSTAM
SEX(tus) CORNELIVS
AVDOLEO
ET C(aius) FVLCINIVS
EPICTETVS
ET L(ucius) METTIVS
EPICTETVS
AVGVSTALES
F(ecerunt)

Translation (Author):
For the god Caesar Augustus, father of the nation, and for the city of the Stobians, Sextus Cornulius Audoleo, Caius Fulcinius Epictetus, and Lucius Mettius Epictetus, Augustales, have made Ultrix Augusta.

No. 162
Stobi
Object Type: Sandstone aedicula, 70 x 85 x 12 cm.
Provenience: Theater, center room of the skene building, apparently a Nemesis shrine, 2.6 x 2.25 m.
Date: Probably the later third century A.C., based upon archaeological investigation of the site and use of Deus as a title for the emperor which first appears in Latin epigraphy under Aurelian (Papazoglu, F., Natpis iz Nemezejona i datovanje Stobskog pozorista/L'inscription du Néméseion et la date du théatre de Stobi, *Ziva Antika* 2, 1952, 293).
References: Saria, B., Das Theater von Stobi, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Insituts, Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1938, 106.
Text (Saria):
Θεᾷ Νεμέσει κατ' ἐπιταγὴ[ν]
Τ(ίτος). Μέστριος. Λόνγος

l. 1: The Θ in Θεᾷ and the Σ in Νεμέσει are damaged but legible. The Γ and Η in ἐπιταγὴ[ν] are smaller than the other letters.
l. 2: Τ(ίτος) is an abbreviation for the Latin T(itus).

Translation (Author):
To the goddess Nemesis in accordance with a command, Titus Mestrius Longus.

Portugal
No. 163
Ebora
Object Type: Funerary stele.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Assigned a second century A.C. date on letter forms (Garcia y Bellido, A., *Les religions orientales dans l'Espagne romaine*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967, 92).
References: Galán, M. B., Die orientalischen Religionen Hispaniens in vorrömischer und römischer Zeit, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.18.1, 1986, 403, No. 11, and further references there.
Text (Galán):
T CALLEVS

MARCIANVS
AN XX H S E S T T L
CAS MARCELLA
SOB RINA F C ITEM AMICI
NEMESIACI EX LAPIDES N II(sic) [N]EMESIACI

l. 1: T(itus).
l. 3: an(norum) XX h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis).
l. 4: Cas(sia).
l. 5: f(aciendum) c(uravit).
l. 6: Attention is called by Galán to the grammatically incorrect ex lapides. It should read ex lapide or ex lapidibus. n(umeri?).

Translation (Author):
Titus Calleus Marcianus, 20 years of age, is lying here. May the earth rest lightly. Cassia Marcella Sobrina has taken care to make (this) from stone(s), likewise the Amici Nemesiaci, the two Nemesiaci members.

Romania

No. 164

Alsó-Ilosvae

Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.794, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
NEMESI
(broken)

No. 165

Alsó-Kosály

Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.; and the absence of a praenomen in the dedicant's name makes a date in the second half of the second century A.C. or later likely (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969, 27; Gordon, A.E., *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 22).
References: *CIL* III.825, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
DEAE NEMESI

SACRARIVM
VETVSTATE
DILAPSVM. A
SOLO RESTITVIT
CASS. EROTI
ANVS . BF COS
AGENS. INM[...
...]ERE. STA[...

l. 1: The ME in Nemesi is written in ligature.
l. 5: Each O in solo is smaller than the other letters.
l. 6-9: The interpretation in the *CIL* is Cassius Erotianus b(ene) f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) agens in m[un]ere sta[tor]. The O in co(n)s(ularis) is smaller that the other letters.

No. 166
Alsó-Kosály
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.826, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
DEAE. NEMESI
C. IVL. MAXIM[US]
BF COS. LEG
V MAC F

l. 1: The ME in Nemesi is written in ligature.
l. 2: C(aius) Iul(ius).
l. 3-4: b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) (Piae) f(ecit).

No. 167
Alsó-Kosály
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: 239 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.827, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
DEAE [nem]ESI
REG[in] VAL VA
LEN[tin]VS BF

COS [miles] LE
XIII. [g]. GORDI
AED[il] COL. NAP
A CENS SVBSI[g]
SAMVM CVM REG
[tr]ANS VA L[lvm]
[i]MP DNM A[nt] GORDI AVGUS
[to et a]VIOLa COS. X[...

l. 1: The interpretation in the *CIL* is Deae [Nem]esi.
l. 2-3: The interpretation in the *CIL* is Reg[in]ae Val(erius) Valen[tin]us b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis),
l. 4: The interpretation in the *CIL* is [miles] le(gionis).
l. 5: The interpretation in the *CIL* is XIII [g(eminae)] Gordi(anae).
l. 6: The interpretation in the *CIL* is aed[il(is)] col(oniae) Nap(ocae).
l. 7: The interpretation in the *CIL* is a cens(ibus) subsi[g(navit)].
l. 8: The interpretation in the *CIL* is samum cum reg(ione).
l. 9: The interpretation in the *CIL* is [tr]ans val[lum]. The VA in val[lum] is written in ligature.
l. 10-11: The interpretation in the *CIL* is [i]mp(eratore) d(omino) n(ostro) M. A[nt(onio)] Gordi(ano) Augus[to et A]viola co(n)s(ulibus) X. [kal...]. The MP in [i]mp(eratore) and the AV in Augus[to] are written in ligature.

Translation (Author):
To the goddess Nemesis Regina, Valerius Valentinus, beneficiarius consularius, soldier of Legion XIII Gemina Gordiana, aedile of Colonia Napoca, (who) has registered by census Samum with the region beyond the fortification, when the Emperor, our lord, Marcus Antoninus Gordianus Augustus and Aviola (were) consuls, on the tenth before the kalends of(?)...

No. 168
Alsó-Kosály
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: 239 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.7633, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
DEAE [ne]MESI
REG. MVAL V[ ]
LENTINVS BF.
COS [mi]L[es] Leg
XIII G. GORDI.

AED[il] COL NAP
AGENS. SVB SIC
SAMVM CVM REG
ANS. V. L. M.[p
IMP. D. N. M. ANT. G[ordi augus]
TO ET. AVIOLA C[os] X[...

l. 2-3: Reg(inae) M(arcus) Val(erius) V[a]lentinus b(ene) f(iciarius). The A in Val(erius) is written without the crossbar.
l. 4-5: co(n)s(ularis) [mi]l[es] leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) Gordi(anae). The first I in the number of the legion is larger than the other letters.
l. 6: aed[il](is) col(oniae) Nap(ocae). The A in Nap(ocae) is written without the crossbar.
l. 7: The interpretation favored by the *CIL* is agens sub si[g(nis)]. Another possible interpretation proposed was to read the abbreviations along the same lines as those in No. 167 above: a cens(ibus) subsig(navit).
l. 8-9: Samum cum reg(ione) Ans(?) v(otum) l(ibens) m(erito) [p(osuit)]. There is a solid line below line 8. The A in Ans(?) is written without the crossbar.
l. 10-11: imperatore domino nostro M. Antonio Gordiano Augusto et Aviola c[o(n)s(ulibus)] X. [kal(endas)...]. There is a solid line below line 10. The MP in imp(eratore) and the AN in Ant(onio) are written in ligature. The C in c[o(n)s(ulibus)] is damaged but legible.

Translation (Author):
To the goddess Nemesis Regina, Marcus Valerius Valentinus, beneficiarius consularis, soldier of Legion XIII Gemina Gordiana, aedile of Colonia Napoca, leading Samum and the region Ans(?) under the standards (i.e., mustering the inhabitants), has willingly and properly erected (this as) a vow, when the Emperor, our lord, Marcus Antoninus Gordianus Augustus and Aviola (were) consuls, on the tenth before the kalends of(?)...

No. 169

Ampelum

Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: "Zalatna devehi iussit Vindobonam" (*CIL*).
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.1304, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
NEMESI
AVG

VITALIS
C. A[p]ON[i]
V. S.

l. 1: The NE in Nemesi is written in ligature.
l. 2: Aug(ustae or -i).
l. 3: C(aius) A[p]on[i](us).
l. 4: v(otum) s(olvit).

No. 170
Apulum
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: No earlier than the reign of Marcus Aurelius because of the imperial nomen of the dedicant.
References: *CIL* III. 1124, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
DEAE. NEMESI
AVREL. MARIVS
OPTIO. SIGNIF
LEG. XIII. GEM
CVM. SEVERIA
SECVNDINA
CONIVGE
PRO. SALVTE. SVA
ET. MARIANAE
BONOSAE. ET
MARINIANI. LIBERTI

l. 1: The NE and ME in Nemesi are written in ligature.
l. 2: Aurel(ius).
l. 3: signif(er).
l. 4: leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae).
l. 5: The RI in Severia is written in ligature.
l. 8: The VA in sua is written in ligature.
l. 9: The MA in Marianae is written in ligature.
l. 11: The MA in Mariniani is written in liagture.

No. 171
Apulum
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.

Date: Reign of Gordian (238-244 A.C.) because of the name of the legion.
References: *CIL* III.1125, and earlier references there; *ILS* 3736.
Text (*CIL* = *ILS*):
DEAE. NEME
SI SIVE. FOR
TVNAE
PISTORIVS
RVGIANVS
V. C. LEGAT
LEG XIII. G
GORD

l. 1-2: The NE and ME in Nemesi are written in ligature.
l. 6-8: v(ir) c(larissimus) legat(us) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) Gord(ianae). The V has a solid line over it.

No. 172
Apulum
Object Type: Statue of Nemesis with scales and griffin with wheel.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: "Carlsburgi in bibliotheca episcopali Batthyanica" (*CIL*).
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.; and the absence of a praenomen in the dedicant's name makes a date in the second half of the second century A.C. or later likely (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969, 27; Gordon, A.E., *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 22).
References: *CIL* III.1126, and earlier references there; *ILS* 3744.
Text (*CIL* = *ILS*):
NEMESI EXAVDIENTIS
SIMAE CL. MARCELLVS. AV

l. 1-2: The NE and ME in Nemesi is written in ligature. The A in Exaudientissimae is written without the crossbar, while the MAE is written in ligature.
l. 2: Cl(audius) Marcellus. The AR in Marcellus is written in ligature. The AV is written in ligature and the A is written without the crossbar. The interpretation in the *CIL* and the *ILS* is Au(gustalis?).

No. 173
Apulum
Object Type: Unspecified.

Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: "Carlsburg rep. Dióđ apud Gabrielum de Zeyk" (*CIL*).
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.7767, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
NEMESI REGIN[...
C. SPED. VALE
RIANVS. DEC[...
COLLEGI FAB[r...
PRO SALVTE [sua...
su]ORVM QV[e...
o]MNIVM[...
u]S L[m

l. 2-3: C(aius) Sped(ius) Valerianus. A dedicant of the same name made an offering to Mithra at Sarmizegetusa, where he was an augustalis coloniae (*CIL* III.7933).
l. 3: dec[(urio)?].
l. 4: fab[rum].
l. 5: The PR in pro is damaged but legible.
l. 6: The V in QV is damaged but legible.
l. 7: Each M is damaged but legible.
l. 8: [v(otum)] s(olvit) l(ibens) [m(erito)].

Translation (Author):
To Nemesis Regina, Caius Spedius Valerianus, decurion of the craftsman guild, has willingly and properly fulfilled his vow for his own well-being, that of those who belong to him and that of all.

No. 174
Apulum
Object Type: Sandstone altar, 64 x 15 cm.
Provenience: Unspecified, "in effossionibus" (*CIL*).
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.; and the absence of a praenomen in the dedicant's name makes a date in the second half of the second century A.C. or later likely (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969, 27; Gordon, A.E., *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 22).
References: *CIL* III.14474, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
NEMESI

DEAE TER
MAR[ci]AN[u
S B F TEM
PLM NOVO
FECIT. EX
VISO

l. 2: Ter(tius?).
l. 4: b(ene) f(iciarius).
l. 4-5: templ(u)m.

No. 175
Apulum
Object Type: Marble statue of Nemesis.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: in the Marosport.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C. Dated by Volkmann (1934, 58) to reign of M. Aurelius, but the criteria are not very reliable.
References: Volkmann, H., Neue Beiträge zum Nemesiskult, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 31, 1934, 58.
Text (Volkmann):
[N]EMESI REGINAE
C IVL VALENS HARVS(pex)
COL(oniae) APVLI ET ANT(istus) HVIVSC(e) LOCI
SOMNIO MONITVS L(ibens) P(osuit)

l. 2: C(aius) Iul(ius).

Translation (Author):
To Nemesis Regina, Caius Julius Valens, harsupex of Colonia Apulia and priest of this place, having been warned in a dream, has willingly erected (this).

No. 176
Callatis
Object Type: Inscription on the base of Nemesis statue.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Perhaps the first half of the third century A.C., based upon the style of statue and inscription (Bordenache 1960, 506-508).
References: Bordenache, G., Antichità greche e romane nel Nuovo Museo di Mangalia, *Dacia* IV, 1960, 506-508, fig. 20a-c.

Text (Bordenache):
Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. Ὑπὲρ τῆς πο[λε]-
ως ἅρχοντες οἱ περὶ Φλ(άουιον) Φάρον
ποντάρχην κὲ βασιλέα κὲ ἀρχιερ[έα]

l. 1: The ΗΣ in τῆς is written in ligature.
l. 2: The ΩΣ in πο[λε]|ως and the ΠΕ in περὶ are written in ligature. Φλ(άουιον) is an abbreviation for the Greek accusative version of the Latin nomen Flavius.
l. 3: The text is cut off here in the published photographs.

No. 177
Casei-Samum

Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified
Date: 224 A.C.
References: Merlin, A., Revue des publications épigraphiques relatifs a l'antiquité romaine, ***Revue Archéologique*** 50, 1957, 241, no. 328; and further references there; Popa, A. & Berciu, I., ***Le culte de Jupiter Dolichenus dans la Dacie romaine.*** Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978, 18-19.
Text (Merlin):
DEAE NEMES[i]
SCANTIVS L[u]
CIVS B[f] COS
AGENS CV
RAM S[t]AT MV[l]
TIS INSIDIIS N[u]
MINIBVS LIB[e]
RATVS VP
CL IVLIANO II ET
[br] CRISPINO COS

l. 3: b(ene)-[f](iciarius) co(n)s(ularis).
l. 5: s[t]at(ione).
l. 8: v(otum) p(osuit).
l. 9-10: Cl. Iuliano II et [Br.] Crispino co(n)s(ulibus), which makes the date of the dedication 224 A.C.

No. 178
Casei-Samum

Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.

Date: 230 A.C.
References: Merlin, A., Revue des publications épigraphiques relatifs a l'antiquité romaine, *Revue Archéologique* 50, 1957, 241, no. 329, and further references there.
Text (Merlin):
DEAE NEM
ESI REG
OCL[atius]
FLOR[enti]
NVS B[f]
[co]S L(egionis) V M(acedonicae)
S(everianae) ITERATO
AGENS STA
TIONE AGRI
ET CLEM COS

l. 1-2: The NE in Nemlesi is written in ligature.
l. 2: Reg(inae).
l. 4: The O in Flor[enti] is smaller than the other letters.
l. 5-6: b(ene)-[f](iciarius) [co](n)s(ularis).
l. 7: The TE in iterato is written in ligature, and the O is smaller than the other letters.
l. 8-9: The NE in staltione is written in ligature.
l. 9-10: Agri(cola) et Clem(entino) co(n)s(ulibus), which makes the date of the inscription 230 A.C.

Translation (Author):
To the goddess Nemesis Regina, Oclatius Florentinus, *beneficiarius consularis* of Legion V Macedonica Severiana, administering at the post for the second time, under the consulship of Agricola and Clementinus.

No. 179
Micia
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: "Felpestes apud viduam Lászlo Makrai" (*CIL*).
Date: No earlier than the reign of M. Aurelius because of the imperial nomen of the dedicant.
References: *CIL* III.7857, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
DEAE. NE
MESI. AVG

AUR. EPIC
TESIS. P. SAL sic
SALVTE. SVA ET
SVOR. EX. V. P.

l. 1: The AE in deae is written in ligature.
l. 2: Aug(ustae or -i).
l. 3: Aur(elius). The A is damaged but legible.
l. 3-4: The TE in Epictesis is written in ligature.
l. 4: p(ro) sal(ute). The AL in sal(ute) is written in ligature. Attention is drawn in the *CIL* to the replication of the salute in line 5 by the sal(ute) in line 4.
l. 5: The AL and TE in salute, and the VA in sua are written in ligature. The T in ET is smaller than the other letters.
l. 6: suor(um) ex v(oto) p(osuit).

No. 180
Mikháza

Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown, but it was found in the summer of 1847 "inter Mikházam et Deményházam (circ. Maras-Vásarhely)" (*CIL*).
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.944, and earlier references there; *ILS* 3748.
Text (*CIL* = *ILS*):
IN H DD
ADRASTIAE
COLLEG
VTICLARIORVM

l. 1: In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae).
l. 3: colleg(ium).

No. 181
Napoca (Cluj) or Potaissa

Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C. Second half of the second-first half of the third centuries A.C.
References: Mitrofan, I., Un altar dedicat Nemeselor, *Acta Musei Napocensis* 17, 1980, 91-97, fig. 2; *SEG* 30, 1980, no. 860.
Text (Mitrofan = *SEG*):

βωμὸς
Νεμέσε
ων

No. 182

Pons Augusti, Sarmizegetusa, or Tibiscum

Object Type: Unspecified.

Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; asecondary context: "ad pagum Marga in districtu Sebesiensi prope confinia Transilvaniae" (*CIL*). Perhaps originally from the Nemesis shrine at Sarmizegetusa (Alicu, Pop, Wollmann 1979, 17-18).

Date: No earlier than the reign of Hadrian because of the imperial nomen of the dedicant; and the absence of a praenomen in the dedicant's name makes a date in the second half of the second century A.C. or later likely (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969, 27; Gordon, A.E., *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 22).

References: *CIL* III.1547, and earlier references there; *ILS* 3747; Alicu, D.; Pop, C; Wollmann, V. *Figured Monuments from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*. Translated by N. Hampartumian. Oxford: BAR International Series 55, 1979, 17-18.

Text (*CIL* = *ILS*):

DEAE. NEMESI
AEL. DIOGENES
Et. SIL[i]A. VALERIA
PRO. SALVTE. SVA. ET
FILIORVM. SVORVM
MATER. ET. PATER
EX. VOTO. A. SOLO
TEMPLVM. EX. SVO
FECERVNT. COLLE
GIO. V[t]RICLARI
ORVM

l. 2: Ael(ius).

No. 183

Potaissa

Object Type: Unspecified.

Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: "Thordae. in aedibus Ioh. Papos" (*CIL*).

Date: Reign of Elagabalus (218-222 A.C.) because of the name of the legion.
References: *CIL* III.902, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
DEAE NEME
SI VLPIVS
VALERIVS
MIL. LEG
V. M. P. ANT
V. S. L. M.

l. 4: The interpretation in the *CIL* is mil(es) leg(ionis).
l. 5: The interpretation in the *CIL* is V M(acedoniae) P(iae) Ant(oninianae).
l. 6: The interpretation in the *CIL* is v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

No. 184
Recka

Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.1592, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
[ne]M[e]SI. VI[ctrici]
IVL. CAND[idvs]
EVOCAT[vs]
V. L. [s]

No. 185
Sarmizegetusa

Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: "Farkadini apud Noptsam" (*CIL*).
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.; and the absence of a praenomen in the dedicant's name makes a date in the second half of the second century A.C. or later likely (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969, 27; Gordon, A.E., *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 22).
References: *CIL* III.1438, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
DEAE. NEMESI
REGIN

CORNEL. CORNELIANVS
DEFENS. LECTICAR
ET. IVLIA BESSA
COIVX. EIVS.
.EX. VOTO. POSVER.

l. 1-2: The letters are larger than those in the subsequent lines.
l. 2: Regin(ae).
l. 3: Cornel(ius). The VS in Cornelianus is written in ligature. A dedicant of the same name made an offering to Mithra at the same site (*CIL* III.12581).
l. 4: defens(or) lecticar(iorum).
l. 6: co(n)iu(n)x.
l. 7: posuer(unt).

Translation (Author):
To the goddess Nemesis Regina, Cornelius Cornelianus, defender of the litter bearers, and Julia Bessa, his wife, have erected (this) from a vow.

No. 186

Sarmizegetusa

Object Type: Broken grit-stone relief, 48 x 22 x 6 cm., featuring a male figure stretching an arm towards an altar. Above are scales, and to the right a wheel and a griffin.
Provenience: c. 80 m. from the southeastern corner of the city wall.
Date: No earlier than the reign of Hadrian beause of the imperial nomen of the dedicant.
References: *L'année épigraphique* 1977, no. 692bis, and earlier references there; Alicu, D.; Pop, C; Wollmann, V. *Figured Monuments from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa.* Translated by N. Hampartumian. Oxford: BAR International Series 55, 1979, 88, no. 89.
Text (Alicu; Pop; Wollmann):
NEMESI[...
AELIVS VA[L]...
EX VO[to]...

l. 2: The VA in Va[l] is written in ligature.

No. 187

Sarmizegetusa

Object Type: Fragment of a marble relief, 12.5 x 6 x 3 cm., featuring a wheel.

Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: No earlier than the reign of Marcus Aurelius because of the imperial nomen of the dedicant.
References: Piso, I., Epigraphica (IV)*: Inscriptii din Sarmizegetusa, *Apulum* 14, 1976, 449-50, no. 8; Alicu, D.; Pop, C; Wollmann, V. *Figured Monuments from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa.* Translated by N. Hampartumian. Oxford: BAR International Series 55, 1979, 89, no. 93.
Text (Piso = Alicu; Pop; Wollmann):
[...au]REL(ius) S?[...
pro salute sua et?]S[u]OR[um...]

No. 188
Sarmizegetusa

Object Type: Fragment of a marble open work relief of Nemesis, 30 x 20 cm..
Provenience: Amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.; and the absence of a praenomen in the dedicant's name makes a date in the second half of the second century A.C. or later likely (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969, 27; Gordon, A.E., *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 22)
References: *CIL* III.13777; Alicu, D.; Pop, C; Wollmann, V. *Figured Monuments from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa.* Translated by N. Hampartumian. Oxford: BAR International Series 55, 1979, 90, no. 99.
Text (Alicu; Pop; Wollmann):
DEAE. NEM(esi) REGINAE
CAEC(ilius) ANTONINVS. EX. V(oto) P(osuit)

l. 1: The *CIL* shows a leaf between Nem(esi) and Reginae.

Translation (Author):
To the goddess Nemesis Regina, Caecilius Antoninus has erected (this) from a vow.

No. 189
Sarmizegetusa

Object Type: Marble relief fragment, 23 x 18 x 4 cm., featuring lower portion of female figure.
Provenience: Amphitheater, probably Nemesis shrine.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.

References: *CIL* III.13778; *L'année épigraphique* 1972, no. 464; Alicu, D.; Pop, C; Wollmann, V. *Figured Monuments from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*. Translated by N. Hampartumian. Oxford: BAR International Series 55, 1979, 88, no. 91.
Text (*CIL*):
...]HILARVS PRO AL[exand]
RO FRATRE DEAE NEM[esi]
[que]M PERICVLO LIBERAVIT[...

l. 1-2: The H in Hilarus is damaged but legible. The A in Al[exand]ro and A in Deae are both written without the crossbar.
l. 3: The T in liberavit is damaged but legible.

Translation (Author):
(damaged) Hilarus for his brother Alexander, to the goddess Nemesis who rescued him from danger (damaged).

No. 190
Sarmizegetusa
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Amphitheater, probably originally from Nemesis shrine.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.13779.
Text (*CIL*):
NEMESI AVG
T. VARENIVS.
GALLICANVS
DEC. COLLEG
f]ABROR
co]L SARMIZ
me]TROP.
ter] MAC.
ex u]OTO
posu]IT

l. 1: Aug(ustae or -i).
l. 2: T(itus).
l. 4: dec(urio) colleg(i),
l. 5: [f]abror(um).
l. 6: [Co]l(oniae) Sarmiz(egetusae)
l. 7: [me]trop(oli).
l. 8: The interpretation in the *CIL* is ter magister.

Translation (Author):
To Nemesis Augusta, Titus Varenius Gallicanus, decurion of the club of craftsmen of the city Colonia Sarmizegetusa, thrice *magister*, has erected (this) from a vow.

No. 191
Sarmizegetusa
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Amphitheater, probably originally from Nemesis shrine.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.13780.
Text (*CIL*):
...nem]ESI DE[ae...
...]NVTVS. D[ec?...
(damaged)

l. 1: The E in [Nem]esi is written as /.

No. 192
Sarmizegetusa
Object Type: Marble relief fragment, 30 x 25 x 6 cm., featuring a male figure extending his right hand over an altar to the right, a hand extending scales towards the man, and a griffin and wheel to the right of the altar.
Provenience: Amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.13781; Alicu, D.; Pop, C; Wollmann, V. *Figured Monuments from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa.* Translated by N. Hampartumian. Oxford: BAR International Series 55, 1979, 88, no. 90.
Text (*CIL*):
(broken)
...ul]P. FVSCINI[anus...
...dec?]COL. EX VOT[o...
(broken)

l. 1: [Ul]p(ius). The A in Fuscini[anus] is damaged but the *CIL* regards it as restorable.
l. 2: The C in col(oniae) and the T in vot[o] are damaged but legible.

Translation (Author):
(broken) Ulpius Fuscinianus...decurion(?) of the colony, from a vow...

No. 193
Sarmizegetusa
Object Type: Fragment of a marble open work relief of Nemesis, 15 x 23 cm.
Provenience: Amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.13783; Alicu, D.; Pop, C; Wollmann, V. *Figured Monuments from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa.* Translated by N. Hampartumian. Oxford: BAR International Series 55, 1979, 90, no. 100.
Text (*CIL*):
M. PROC. THEODO[rus ii vir
COL QQ DEC EX VOT[o posuit

l. 1: M(arcus) Proc(ilius).
l. 2: Col(oniae) q(uin)q(uennalis), dec(urio). There is a leaf between col(oniae) and q(uin)q(uennalis), the QQ has a solid line through it, and the T in vot[o] is damaged but legible.

Translation (Author):
Marcus Procilius Theodorus, duumvir quinquennalis of the colony, decurion, has erected (this) from a vow.

No. 194
Sarmizegetusa
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Amphitheater, probably originally from Nemesis shrine.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.13784.
Text (*CIL*):
(broken)
PROC[l]
ES ET PROC[li]
NVS EX [v.] POS

l. 2: The ET is written in ligature.
l. 2-3: The O in Proc[li]nus is smaller than the other letters, while the NV is written in ligature.
l. 3: [v(oto)] pos(uerunt). The O in pos(erunt) is smaller than the other letters.

Translation (Author):
(broken) Procles and Proclinus have erected (this) from a vow.

No. 195

Sarmizegetusa

Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Amphitheater, probably originally from Nemesis shrine.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.13786.
Text (*CIL*):

(broken)
...]ONI[...
...pat]RONVS. COL[...
...]MVNICIP[i...
...n]VMI[ni?...
(broken)

l. 1: The O is damaged but legible.
l. 2: The R in [pat]ronus and the OL in col[(oniae)] are damaged but legible.
l. 3: The M is damaged but legible.

No. 196

Sarmizegetusa

Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Amphitheater, probably originally from Nemesis shrine.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.13787.
Text (*CIL*):

(broken)
...]M. PAV[lus...
...co]L. FABR[um...
...et] L. IVLI[anus...
...c]OL. F[abrum...
(broken)

l. 1: M(arcus).
l. 2: [co]l(legium). The R in fabr[um] is damaged but legible.
l. 3: L(ucius).
l. 4: [c]ol(legium). The line is damaged but legible.

No. 197

Sarmizegetusa

Object Type: Marble plaque fragment, 27 x 28 x 8 cm.

Provenience: Amphitheater, eastern entrance, probably originally from Nemesis shrine.
Date: Probably refers to Caracalla or Elagabalus (Piso 1974-75, 66-67).
References: Piso, I., Epigraphica (I), *Sargetia* 11-12, 1974-75, 66-67, no. 17, fig. 17; *L'année épigraphique* 1977, no. 683.
Text (Piso = *L'année épigraphique*):
[Nemesi Au]G
[Pro Salut]E ET
[Incolu]MITATE
[Imp(eratoris)] CAES(aris) M(arci). AVR(elii)

l. 1: [Au]g(ustae or -i). The G is damaged and restored.
l. 3: The TE in [Incolu]mitate is written in ligature. The M is damaged but enough remains to restore it as an M.
l. 4: The M in M(arci) is damaged but enough remains to restore it as an M.

Translation (Author):
To Nemesis Augusta, for the well being and safety of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius.

No. 198
Sarmizegetusa
Object Type: Two pieces of a marble plaque, 30 x 35 x 6 & 37 x 14 x 6 cm. The right fragment has a trident in relief.
Provenience: Amphitheater, probably originally from Nemesis shrine.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.
References: Piso, I., Epigraphica (I), *Sargetia* 11-12, 1974-75, 67-68, no. 18, fig. 18; *L'année épigraphique* 1977, no. 684; Alicu, D.; Pop, C; Wollmann, V. *Figured Monuments from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*. Translated by N. Hampartumian. Oxford: BAR International Series 55, 1979, 90, no. 98.
Text (Piso = *L'année épigraphique* = Alicu; Pop; Wollmann):
[c]OLLOCATA IDIB(us) IVNI(i)S[.................et............]NO COS
[de]AE
[nem]ESI

l. 1: The initial I in idib(us) and Iuni(i)s are larger than the other letters. The T in [c]ollocata is damaged but legible. The N in the second consul name is damaged but enough remains to restore it as an N. co(n)s(ulibus).
l. 2: The A is damaged but legible.
l. 3: The E is damaged but legible.

Translation (Author):
Put in place on the Ides of June, under the consulship of [? and ?]. For the goddess Nemesis

No. 199
Sarmizegetusa

Object Type: Limestone base, 68 x 66 x 15 cm., with a relief of a liver between lines 2 and 3.
Provenience: Amphitheater, probably originally from Nemesis shrine.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.
References: Russu, I.I., Note Epigraphie XIV, *Studii si Cercetari de Istorie veche si Arheologie* 25, 1974, 590-91, fig. 3; *L'année épigraphique* 1977, no. 669
Text (Russu = *L'année épigraphique*):
DEAE NEMESI REG
C. VAL. MAXIMVS PEC
VMARIVS EX VISV
POSVIT

l. 1: Reg(inae).
l. 2: C(aius) Val(erius).
l. 3-4: Russu suggests that Pecumarius may be a cognomen.

Translation (Author):
To the goddess Nemesis, G(aius) Val(erius) Maximus Pecumarius has erected (this) from a vision.

No. 200
Sarmizegetusa

Object type: Fragment of a marble relief, 10.5 x 11.5 x 3 cm., featuring lower part of a female figure.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.
References: Alicu, D.; Pop, C; Wollmann, V. *Figured Monuments from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa.* Translated by N. Hampartumian. Oxford: BAR International Series 55, 1979, 88-89, no. 92.
Text (Alicu; Pop; Wollmann):
[Deae Ne]MESI VAR[ius...]
ex vot]O POS(uit) VA[rius?]

Translation (Author):
To the goddess Nemesis, Varius has erected (this) from a vow, Va[rius?].

No. 201
Sarmizegetusa

Object type: Fragment of a marble relief, 13 x 12.1 x 1.2 cm., featuring part of a figure of Nemesis holding scales.
Provenience: Amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.
References: Alicu, D.; Pop, C; Wollmann, V. *Figured Monuments from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa.* Translated by N. Hampartumian. Oxford: BAR International Series 55, 1979, 90-91, no. 101.
Text (Alicu; Pop; Wollmann):
(broken)
...]VRSVS E[x voto?]
(broken)

No. 202
Sarmizegetusa

Object type: Fragment of a marble relief, 17 x 9 x 3 cm., featuring a figure leaning a measuring stick (?) on the right shoulder.
Provenience: Amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.
References: Alicu, D.; Pop, C; Wollmann, V. *Figured Monuments from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa.* Translated by N. Hampartumian. Oxford: BAR International Series 55, 1979, 91, no. 102.
Text (Alicu; Pop; Wollmann):
(broken)
...]I AVG[...
(broken)

No. 203
Sarmizegetusa

Object type: Fragment of a marble relief, 12.5 x 11.5 x 3 cm, featuring the lower portion a female figure.
Provenience: Amphitheater.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.13782, and earlier references there; Alicu, D.; Pop, C; Wollmann, V. *Figured Monuments from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa.* Translated by N. Hampartumian. Oxford: BAR International Series 55, 1979, 91, no. 103.
Text (*CIL*):
(broken)
...]MVCIAN[(us)
[e]X VOTO PO(suit)

l. 1: The M and N are damaged but legible. The I is larger than the other letters.

Translation:
(broken)...Mucianus has erected (this) from a vow.

No. 204
Sarmizegetusa

Object type: Fragment of a marble relief, 23 x 14 x 4 cm., featuring the lower part of Nemesis holding a measuring stick in her right hand.
Provenience: Amphitheater.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.13785, and earlier references there; Alicu, D.; Pop, C; Wollmann, V. *Figured Monuments from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa.* Translated by N. Hampartumian. Oxford: BAR International Series 55, 1979, 91, no. 105.
Text (*CIL*):
(broken)
...]S EX VOTO

No. 205
Sucidava

Object Type: Limestone tabula ansata plaque, 54 x 83 x 14 cm.
Provenience: The ruins of the castellum.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C. Letter forms no later than mid-third century A.C. (Parvan 1913, 385-89).
References: Parvan, V., Archäologische Funde im Jahre 1912: Rumänien. *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlichen Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes, Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1913, col. 385-89, no. 2, abb. 17; Tudor, D. *Sucidava, une cité daco-romaine et byzantine en Dacie*, Bruxelles-Berchem: Latomus, 1965, 34, pl. II.
Text (Parvan=Tudor):
[D]EAE NEMESI
PRO SALVTE AVGG
CVRIAL(es) TERRIT(orii) SVC(idavensis)
TEMPLVM A SOLO
RESTITVERVNT

l. 2: AVGG. = Augustorum.
l. 3: The CVR in curial(es) is damaged but legible. The IT in territ(orii) is written in ligature. The S in Suc(idavensis) is written as Σ.

l. 4: The T in templum is damaged and restored, while the E is damaged but legible.

No. 206

Sucidava

Object Type: Fragmentary marble relief of Nemesis, 9.5 x 13 cm.
Provenience: Near the western wall of the fortress.
Date: No earlier than the reign of Marcus Aurelius because of the imperial nomen of the dedicant.
References: Tudor, D., Comunicari epigraphice, *Studii si Cercetari de Istorie veche si Arheologie* 32, 1981, 434-35, fig. 7, no. 2; *L'année épigraphique* 1981, no. 720.
Text (Tudor = *L'année épigraphique*):
AVR(elius) CAVIANVS EX
VOTV POSVIT

No. 207

Sucidava

Object Type: Limestone altar fragment, 42 x 17 x 13 cm.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: reused in ruined masonry near the western side of the fortress.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.
References: Tudor, D., Comunicari epigraphice, *Studii si Cercetari de Istorie veche si Arheologie* 26, 1975, 131-32; *L'année épigraphique* 1974, no. 559.
Text (Tudor = *L'année épigraphique*):
NEME[si..........]
TEMP[lum......]
TIB(erius?)[...]
AN[..................]
SA[.................]

l. 1: The NE and ME anre written in ligature.
l. 2: The TE is written in ligature. The P is damaged but legible.
l. 3: The B is damaged and could have been an R or P. It is restored as a B by Tudor.
l. 4: The N is damaged but legible.
l. 5: The A is damaged but legible.

No. 208

Veczel

Object Type: Unspecified.

Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Must post-date the Trajanic conquest of Dacia, 107 A.C.
References: *CIL* III.1358.
Text (*CIL*):
(broken)
.....]VS
DEAE NEM[...
(broken)

l. 2: The AE in deae and the NE in Nem[esi] are written in ligature. The M in Nem[esi] is damaged but legible.

Slovenia

No. 209

Emona (Ljubljana)

Object Type: Limestone altar, 33.7 x 16.4 x 13.8 cm.
Provenience: Found in the excavation of the so-called "House of Primitivianus".
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Hoffiler, V. & Saria, B., *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien. Heft I: Noricum und Pannonia Superior,* Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1970 (reprint of 1938), 73, no. 161, and further references there; Selem, P., *Les religions orientales dans la Pannonie romaine: Partie en Yougoslavie.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980, 264-65, no. 1.
Text (Hofiller & Saria = Selem):
NEMESI
AVG(ustae)
SACR(um)
PRIMI
TIVIA
NVS
V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

l. 3: Hofiller & Saria note that, contrary to an earlier reading, there should not be a second S restored in the space between the extant S and A, but that that place was merely ancient damage in the stone which was avoided by the stonemason.

No. 210

Poetovio (Ptuj)

Object Type: Marble altar, 38 x 26 x 19 cm.

Provenience: Found in the adjsutment of the new marketplace, the place of the former "small barracks".
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Hoffiler, V. & Saria, B., *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien. Heft I: Noricum und Pannonia Superior,* Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1970 (reprint of 1938), 151, no. 323, and further references there; Selem, P., *Les religions orientales dans la Pannonie romaine: Partie en Yougoslavie.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980, 265, no. 2, and further references there.
Text (Hofiller & Saria = Selem):
[Ne]MESI A[ug(ustae)]
[S]ACRV[m]
[Pr]O SAL(ute) [sua]
[...]ONIVS[...]

l. 1: The ME in [Ne]mesi is written in ligature.
l. 2: The A and V in [sacru[m] are damaged but enough remains to restore them as A and V.
l. 3: The L in sal[ute] is damaged but enough remains to restore it as an L.
l. 4: The entire line, except for the V, is damaged but enough remains to restore it as ONIVS.

Spain

No. 211

Astorga

Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Dedicated by a man whose career can be placed in the early or middle of the third century A.C., and who, while a Governor at the time of this inscription, had at one time apparently been a *procurator familiarum gladiatorum* (Birley 1981, 20-22; cf. *CIL* III.12732).
References: *L'année epigraphique* 1968, no. 231; Birley, A. R., An Altar from Bremenium, *Zeitschrift für Papyrus und Epigrapik* 43, 1981, 20-22.
Text (Birley):
Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· Θεαῖς Νεμέσεσιν Σμυρναίαις σεβασμιωτάταις Ἰούλ. Σιλουανιὸς Μελανίων ἐπίτρ. Σεβ. εὐχήν.

l. 1: σεβασμιωτάταις could be interpreted as "most august", but appears in masculine plural elsewhere (*CPR* 37.15) from the third century A.C. as equivalent to Σεβαστοί = Augusti. Given the frequency of the epithet Augusta for Nemesis in Latin inscriptions it is probable that σεβασμιωτάταις here represents "Augustis".

l. 2: Ἰούλ(ιος) is an abbreviation for the Latin Iul(ius). ἐπιτρ(οπάδος) Σεβ(αστοῦ). The same governor dedicated altars at Astorga to the Capitoline Triad, and to Serapis, Isis, Core, Apollo, and Mars.

Translation (Author):
For good fortune: Julius Silvanius Melanion, procurator of the Augustus, (has fulfilled) a vow to the Smyrnaean goddesses Nemeseis Augustae.

No. 212
Carmo (Carmona)

Object Type: Bronze tablet.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Galán, M. B., Die orientalischen Religionen Hispaniens in vorrömischer und römischer Zeit, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.18.1, 1986, 403, No. 12.
Text (Galán):
D(is) M(anibus)
DERPS
AVGVSTE
NEMESI

No. 213
Castulo

Object Type: Nemesis Representation.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: García y Bellido, A., *Les religions orientales dans l'Espagne romaine*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967, 90, no. 9, and further references there.
Text (García y Bellido):
DEAE NEM[E]
SI
DEC FONTEIVS
APOLAVSTVS
CVM SVIS V(otum) A(nimo) L(ibens) S(olvit)

l. 3: Dec(ius).
l. 5: Should read l(ibenti).

No. 214
Córdoba

Object Type: Unspecified.

Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: "reperta d. 12 m. Maii a. 1781 en las casas que re-edificaba D. Miguel del Aguila; extat in euisdem domus pariete exteriori" (*CIL*).
Date: Assigned a second century A.C. date on letter forms (García y Bellido 1967, 85); the absence of a *praenomen* in the dedicants' names makes a date in the second half of the second century A.C. or later likely (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969, 27; Gordon, A.E., *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 22).
References: *CIL* II.2195, and earlier references there; García y Bellido, A., *Les religions orientales dans l'Espagne romaine*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967, 85, no. 1.
Text (*CIL*):
NEMESI
CORNELII. RES[TI]TVTVS. ET. AFRICAN[VS]
EX ACTO. FLAMONIO
VOTO. REDDIDERVN[T]

l. 1: The letters are larger than those of the subsequent lines.
l. 2: The last I in Cornelii, the second T in Res[ti]tutus and the F in African[us] are larger than the other letters of this line but not comparable in size to the letters of the first line.
l. 3: The F in flamonio is larger than the other letters of this line but not comparable in size to the letters of the first line.

No. 215
Emerita Augusta (Merida)
Object Type: Wall inscription.
Provenience: Amphitheater, northern entrance passage.
Date: No earlier than the reign of Marcus Aurelius because of the nomen of the dedicant; possibly before 212 A.C. because the statement of filiation becomes infrequent later (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969, 28).
References: Galán, M. B., Die orientalischen Religionen Hispaniens in vorrömischer und römischer Zeit, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.18.1, 1986, 403, No. 10, and further references there.
Text (Galán):
DEAE INVICTAE
CAELESTI NEMESI
M AVRELIVS FILI[...
ROMA V A L S
SACRA V S

l. 3: M(arcus).
l. 4: v(otum) a(nimo) l(ibenti) s(olvit).
l. 5: v(otum) s(olverunt).

Translation (Author):
To the invincible goddess Caelestis Nemesis, Marcus Aurelius, son of (damaged), from Rome, has fulfilled (his) vow with a willing disposition. Worship has fulfilled (his) vow.

No. 216
Italica
Object Type: Marble plaque, 66 x 28 cm., with *vestigia* —3 pairs, 2 in one direction, 1 in the other.
Provenience: Amphitheater, main entrance corridor.
Date: No earlier than the reign of Marcus Aurelius because of the nomen of the dedicant.
References: *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1980, 77, no. 2; Canto, A.M., Les plaques votives avec *plantae pedum* d'Italica, *Zeitschrift für Papyrus und Epigraphik* 54, 1984, 184, no. 3, Taf. VIII.
Text (Canto):
AVRELIVS POIETICVS (or POLITICVS)
NEMESI PRAESENTI

l. 1: The text reads AVREIIVS POIYIICVS. The I in this text is used for the letters I, T, and L. The Y-character is difficult to interpret. Canto prefers to see it as an E or I. *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II* sees it as a T and reads POITIICVS.
l. 2: The text reads NEMESI PRAESENII.

Translation (Author):
Aurelius Poieticus (or Politicus) to Nemesis Praesens.

No. 217
Italica
Object Type: Marble plaque with *vestigia*.
Provenience: Amphitheater, main entrance corridor.
Date: No earlier than the reign of Hadrian because of the construction date of the amphitheater (García y Bellido, A., *Colonia Aelia Augusta Italica*. Madrid: Instituto Español de Arqueología, 1960, 110); and the absence of a praenomen in the dedicant's name makes a date in the second half of the second century A.C. or later likely (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der*

römischen Provinz Dalmatia, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969, 27; Gordon, A.E., *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 22).
References: *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1980, 79, no. 13; Canto, A.M., Les plaques votives avec *plantae pedum* d'Italica, *Zeitschrift für Papyrus und Epigraphik* 54, 1984, 184, no. 2, Taf. VIII; Galán, M. B., Die orientalischen Religionen Hispaniens in vorrömischer und römischer Zeit, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.18.1, 1986, 402, no. 5.
Text (*Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II* = Canto = Galán):
Π ΙΤΑΛΙΚΗΝΣΙΟΥΜ ΛΥΚΙΟΣ
ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΑΕ ΝΕΜΕΣΙ ΖΟΣΙΜΟΣ

Π. Ἰταλικήνσιουμ Λύκιος
Ἀυγούσταε Νέμεσι Ζώσιμος

The text is written backwards. It is written in Greek characters but is Latin in language.
l. 1: Π. is interpreted by *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II* as an abbreviation for "p(ublicus)", by Canto as "p(atronus)".

Translation (Author):
Lucius Zosimos, public slave (or patron) of the city of the Italicans, to Augusta Nemesis.

No. 218
Italica

Object Type: Marble plaque fragment with *vestigia*.
Provenience: Amphitheater, main entrance corridor.
Date: No earlier than the reign of Hadrian because of the construction date of the amphitheater (García y Bellido, A., *Colonia Aelia Augusta Italica*. Madrid: Instituto Español de Arqueología, 1960, 110).
References: Canto, A.M., Les plaques votives avec *plantae pedum* d'Italica, *Zeitschrift für Papyrus und Epigraphik* 54, 1984, 184, no. 4.
Text (Canto):
NEM[esi................]
VLPIA CA[..........]
.........?Italice]NS[ium?...]

Translation (Author):
To Nemesis (damaged) Ulpia Ca...(damaged) (city of the Italicans ?).

No. 219

Italica

Object Type: Bronze tabula ansata.
Provenience: Amphitheater, Main entrance corridor.
Date: No earlier than the reign of Hadrian because of the construction date of the amphitheater (García y Bellido, A., *Colonia Aelia Augusta Italica.* Madrid: Instituto Español de Arqueología, 1960, 110).
References: García y Bellido, A., *Les religions orientales dans l'Espagne romaine*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967, 88-89, no. 6.
Text (García y Bellido):
VICIRIA VO
TVM DEMISIT
AVGVSTAE
NEMESI

Translation (Author):
Viciria has fulfilled a vow to Augusta Nemesis.

No. 220

Italica

Object Type: Marble plaque, 53 x 30 cm., with *vestigia* —2 pairs.
Provenience: Amphitheater, main entrance corridor.
Date: No earlier than the reign of Hadrian because of the construction date of the amphitheater (García y Bellido, A., *Colonia Aelia Augusta Italica.* Madrid: Instituto Español de Arqueología, 1960, 110).
References: *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II.* Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1980, 77, no. 6; Canto, A.M., Les plaques votives avec *plantae pedum* d'Italica, *Zeitschrift für Papyrus und Epigraphik* 54, 1984, 184, no. 1, Taf. VIII.
Text (Canto):
CAELEST(i) PIAE AVG(ustae)
C(aius). SE[rvi]LIVS AFRICANVS CVM LIBERIS
A(nimo). L(ibens). V(otum). S(olvit).

l. 1: The S in Caelest(i) is damaged but legible.
l. 2: *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II* reads S.LIVS, and restores as S(a)lius. The R in Africanus and the V in cum are damaged but legible.
l. 3: The L in l(ibens) is damaged but legible.

Translation (Author):
To Caelestis Pia Augusta, Caius Servilius (or Salius) Africanus, with his children, has fulfilled (his) vow with a willing disposition.

No. 221
Italica
Object Type: Marble plaque, 35.5 x 29.5 cm., with *vestigia* —1 pair.
Provenience: Amphitheater, main entrance corridor.
Date: No earlier than the reign of Hadrian because of the construction date of the amphitheater (García y Bellido, A., *Colonia Aelia Augusta Italica.* Madrid: Instituto Español de Arqueología, 1960, 110).
References: *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II.* Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1980, 79, no. 12; Canto, A.M., Les plaques votives avec *plantae pedum* d'Italica, *Zeitschrift für Papyrus und Epigraphik* 54, 1984, 184, no. 6, Taf. VIII.
Text (*Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II* = Canto):
DOMINAE REGIAE
P. B. FORTVNAT
VS
SAC. C. A. AVG. ITAL.

l. 1: Both *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II* and Canto correct Regiae to Regi(n)ae.
l. 2: Both *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II* and Canto interpret as P(ublius) B(aedius).
l. 3: Both *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II* and Canto interpret as Sac(erdos) C(oloniae) A(eliae) Aug(ustae) Ital(icensium).

Translation (Author):
To Lady Regina, Publius Baedius Fortunatus, priest of Colonia Aelia Augusta of the Italicans.

No. 222
Italica
Object Type: Marble plaque, 28 x 25 cm., with *vestigia* —1 pair, 6 toes.
Provenience: Amphitheater, main entrance corridor.
Date: No earlier than the reign of Hadrian because of the construction date of the amphitheater (García y Bellido, A., *Colonia Aelia Augusta Italica.* Madrid: Instituto Español de Arqueología, 1960, 110); and the absence of a praenomen in the dedicant's name makes a date in the second half of the second century A.C. or later likely (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969, 27; Gordon,

A.E., *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 22).
References: *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1980, 79, no. 8, Lám. XXVI; Canto, A.M., Les plaques votives avec *plantae pedum* d'Italica, *Zeitschrift für Papyrus und Epigraphik* 54, 1984, 185, no. 7, Taf. IX.
Text (*Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II* = Canto):
LV FE
CA DE
NVS LES
M AE
DOMINECVRANI

l. 3: The L in LES is damaged but legible.
l. 5: CV is written in ligature. Interpreted as CV by Canto, as OV by *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II*.

The inscription as a whole is interpreted as:
Lucanus Fedeles Domin(a)e Cur(atrici) animae, by Canto or as Lucanus Fedeles Ma(i)es(tati) Domin(a)e Ourani by *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II*.

Translation (Author):
Lucanus Fedeles to Lady Curatrix for life.
or
Lucanus Fedeles to the majesty of Lady Ourania.

No. 223
Italica

Object Type: Marble plaque, 33.4 x 22.5 cm., with *vestigia* —1 pair.
Provenience: Amphitheater, main entrance corridor.
Date: No earlier than the reign of Hadrian because of the construction date of the amphitheater (García y Bellido, A., *Colonia Aelia Augusta Italica*. Madrid: Instituto Español de Arqueología, 1960, 110).
References: *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1980, 76, no. 1; Canto, A.M., Les plaques votives avec *plantae pedum* d'Italica, *Zeitschrift für Papyrus und Epigraphik* 54, 1984, 185, no. 11, Taf. IX
Text (Canto):
Q(uintus) C(........) C(........)
D(eae) I(nvictae) S(acrum) ?

l. 1: *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II* interprets as Q(uintus) C(laudius) C... The second C is damaged but legible.
l. 2: *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II* interprets as D(eo) I(nvicto) S(olis)?

Translation (Author):
Quintus C(?) C(?). Dedicated to the invincible goddess ?

No. 224
Italica
Object Type: Marble plaque, 28 x 26 cm., with *vestigia* —1 pair.
Provenience: Amphitheater, main entrance corridor.
Date: No earlier than the reign of Hadrian because of the construction date of the amphitheater (García y Bellido, A., *Colonia Aelia Augusta Italica.* Madrid: Instituto Español de Arqueología, 1960, 110).
References: *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II.* Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1980, 77, no. 4; Canto, A.M., Les plaques votives avec *plantae pedum* d'Italica, *Zeitschrift für Papyrus und Epigraphik* 54, 1984, 185, no. 8, Taf. IX.
Text (*Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II* = Canto):
G. F.LAVIVS
F.IRMVS
V.O.T.O.
S. L. R.
PRO I.LA
SVCCIISSO.

l. 1-2: Both *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II* and Canto interpret as G(aius) Flavius Firmus.
l. 4: *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II* interprets as s(usceptum) l(ibens) r(eddidit); Canto interprets as s(uscepto) l(ibens) r(eddidit).
l. 5: Both *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II* and Canto interpret I.LA as Fla(vio).
l. 6: Both *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II* and Canto interpret SVCCIISSO as Successo.

Translation (Author):
Gaius Flavius Firmus has willingly repaid a vow undertaken for Flavius Successus.

No. 225

Italica

Object Type: Marble plaque, 36 x 33 cm., with *vestigia* —1 pair.
Provenience: Amphitheater, main entrance corridor.
Date: No earlier than the reign of Hadrian because of the construction date of the amphitheater (García y Bellido, A., *Colonia Aelia Augusta Italica.* Madrid: Instituto Español de Arqueología, 1960, 110).
References: *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II.* Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1980, 79, no. 14; Canto, A.M., Les plaques votives avec *plantae pedum* d'Italica, *Zeitschrift für Papyrus und Epigraphik* 54, 1984, 185, no. 9, Taf. IX.
Text (*Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II* = Canto):
P. CAESIVS. ROMVLVS.
EX VOTO DONVM. ET.
VESTIGIA

l. 1: Both *Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II* and Canto interpret as P(ublius).

Translation (Author):
Publius Caesius Romulus, from a vow, a gift and footprints.

No. 226

Tarragona

Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: Third century A.C. by letter forms (Alföldy 1975, 26).
References: García y Bellido, A., Némésis en una pintura mural del anfiteatro de Tarragona, *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 36, 177; Alföldy, G., *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1975, 26, no. 46, pl. IX.3.
Text (Alföldy):
N SANC
AVGVS
STE NEME
SI EX VOT
...ESS...

l. 1: The N is damaged and restored. Both García y Bellido and Alföldy interpret this line as N(umini) Sanc(tae).
l. 2: The AV in Auguslste is damaged but legible, and it is written in ligature.

l. 3: The TE in Auguslste, and the NE and ME in Nemelsi are written in ligature. García y Bellido draws attention to the mistaken Augusste rather than Augustae.
l. 4: The S in Nemelsi and the T in vot(o) are damaged and restored.
l. 5: The E is damaged and restored, while the SS is damaged but legible. García y Bellido interprets the line as ess(edarius). Alföldy just as plausibly restores here [G]ess[ius] or [M]ess[ius].
l. 6: Alföldy suggests that a line once existed here.

Translation (Author):
To the divine power holy Augusta Nemesis, Gessius (or Messius?) from a vow.

No. 227
Tarragona
Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Amphitheater, Nemesis shrine.
Date: Third century A.C. by letter forms, and possibly datable to 206-211 A.C. if Nummius Didymus is Governor M. Nummius Umbrius Primus M. F. Gal. Senecio Albinus (Alföldy 1975, 26).
References: García y Bellido, A., Némésis en una pintura mural del anfiteatro de Tarragona, *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 36, 177; Alföldy, G., *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1975, 25, no. 45, pl. IX.1.
Text (Alföldy):
[n]VM(ini) S(anctae)
NEMESI
CORNELIVS
SENECIA[n]V[s]
ET VALERIA PO
MPEIA PRO SA
LVTE NVMM(ii)
DIDYMI
V(oto) P(osuerunt)

l. 1: The VM and the S are damaged but legible. This line is written larger than the next six.
l. 2: The ME in Nemesi is written in ligature, while the S is damaged but legible.
l. 3: The NE in Cornelius is written in ligature, while the VS is damaged and restored.

l. 4: The second E in Senecia[n]u[s] is damaged but legible, while the V is damaged and restored.
l. 5: The VA and ER in Valeria are written in ligature. The ER is damaged but legible. The O in Polmpeia is damaged and restored.
l. 6: The PE in Polmpeia is written in ligature. The S in sallute is damaged but legible.
l. 7: García y Bellido interprets as Numm(i). The N is damaged but legible.
l. 8: The ID in Didymi is damaged but legible. This line and the following are written larger than the previous six.

Translation (Author):
To the divine power holy Nemesis, Cornelius Senecianus(?) and Valeria Pompeia have erected (this) votive for the well-being of Nummius Didymus.

No. 228

Tucci

Object Type: Marble slab.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: "en casa de D. Juan Ortega Vallejo, marmol negro que sirve de umbral bajo en la puerta del corral" (*CIL*).
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* II.1662, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
VINDICI
N(emesi)
CRESCENS
ET EVLALVS
D(ant)

l. 1: The last I in Vindici is larger than the other letters.

Syria

No. 229

Dura Europos

Object Type: Stele, with a representation of Nemesis and the dedicant.
Provenience: In or near the South Tower.
Date: Dated 540 of the Seleucid Era = 228/9 A. C.
References: Baur, P. V. C. & Rostovtzeff, M. I. (ed.), *The Excavations at Dura-Europos I*, New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1929, 47-48, 62, no. 2.
Text (Baur & Rostovtzeff):

Θεᾷ Νεμέσι Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος Μαλωχᾶς
Σουδαίου Παλμυρηνὸς εὐξάμενος ἀνέθη
κεν.

Palmyrene inscription:
ʿbd wmwdʾ mlwhʾ brswdy tdmryʾ lnmsys šnt 540.

No. 230
Maqam er-Rabb

Object Type: Altar.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Dated 262 A.C.
References: *SEG* 19, 1963, no. 884, and further references there.
Text (*SEG*):
a)
Ἔτους γοφʹ μη⟨νὸς⟩ ⟨π⟩ερ⟨ίτίου?⟩
καιρὸς
καλός·
Δροῦσος
εἱερεὺς
εὐχαριστῶν
ἀνέθηκεν
b)
Νέμεσις

No. 231
Palmyra

Object Type: Fragment of a base, 12 x 28 x 16 cm.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: found in the demolition of later houses installed in the Temple of Bel
Date: Must be no earlier than the reign of Domitian because of the nomen and cognomen of the dedicant.
References:Seyrig, H., Antiquités syriennes, *Syria* 27, 1950, 243-47.
Text (Seyrig):
[?Φλ]άουΐ[ι]ος Δ[ο]μιτιανὸς
[τὴν] κυρίαν Νέμεσιν ἐξ εἰδί-
[ων εὐ]ξάμε[νος ἀ]νέθη[κεν].

No. 232
Palmyra

Object Type: Honorific column.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Dated 375 of the Seleucid Era = 64 A.C.

References: Milik, J.T., *Dédicaces faites par des dieux (Palmyre, Hatra, Tyr) et des thiases sémitiques à l'époque romáine.* Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1972, 82-85, no. 7, and further references there.
Text (Milik):
[Θεὰ Νέμεσ]ις, Μεζ[ι]α[νηνῶν τε φυλὴ]
[καὶ συ]μπὰς δῆμο[ς Παλμυρηνῶν]
[Σαλαμ]αλλαθον Ἰαρ[ειβωλεους τοῦ]
[Νουρ]βηλου τοῦ ἐπικαλ[ουμένο]υ..Α.Ι
[Παλ]μυρηνὸν φυλῆς τῆς αὐτῆς εὐσεβῆ καὶ
[ἀρέ]σαντα αὐτοῖς ἐν πολλοῖς πράγμασι
[ἔ]ν τε κτίσμασιν καὶ ἀναθήμασιν
ἀναλώμασι τε οὐκ ὀλίγοις τειμῆς
ἕνεκεν vac. (῎Ε)το(υ)ς ΕΟΤ μηνὸς Περειτίου
Palmyrene text:
ṣ[lm]ʾ dnh dy šlmlt br
[yrḥbw]lʾ br nwrbl dy mtqrh
ʾ[...] br ydyʿbl tdmryʾ dy mn
bn[y] mʿzyn dy ʾqymw lh ʾlt
[wbny mʿ]zyn bdyl dy qm wbnʾ wqrb
[wlʾ bzʿyr wšpr l]hn bkl gns klh
[gbl tdmryʾ ʾqym] ṣlmʾ dnh wʿmwdʾ
[dnh byrḥ šbṭ] šnt CCCLXXV

No. 233

Palmyra (Wadi ‘Arafa)

Object Type: Relief of various deities, including Nemesis.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Dated 464 of the Seleucid Era = 153 A.C.
References: Milik, J.T., *Dédicaces faites par des dieux (Palmyre, Hatra, Tyr) et des thiases sémitiques à l'époque romáine.* Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1972, 23-25, and further references there.
Text (Milik):
Inscription in Palmyrene.
[dnh ṣlmʾ dy ʿ]bd swyrʾ br tymʾ wmlʾ br b[r]milky lbl wlbʿšmn
[wlʿglbwl wlml]kbl wlʿštrt wlnmsys wlʾrsw wlʾbgl ʾlhyʾ ṭbyʾ
[wskryʾ ʿl ḥyyh]wn wḥyy bnyhwn byrh knwn šnt CCCCLXIV šlm

No. 234

Unknown

Object Type: Marble fragment.

Provenience: Unknown.
Date: Perhaps first or second century A.C. (Robert 1933, 138).
References: Robert, L., Variéte, *Revue Archéologique* 2, 1933, 138, no. 84.
Text (Robert):

[Διόδ]ο̣τος Διοδώ̣ρ̣ο̣υ̣
.........]νὸς τῇ κυρίᾳ Νεμέσι
.........]μα ἀνέθηκα εὐχαριστῶν

l. 3: Robert rejects an earlier attempt to read [μνῆ]μα, based on the width of the lacuna. He prefers [τὸ ἄγαλ]μα or [τὸ βῆ]μα.

Turkey

No. 235

Aphrodisias

Object Type: Marble stele with pediment and acroteria; Ht. 1.46 m.; Width .89 m.; Thickness .28 m. Below the inscription is a likely Nemesis flanked by two winged Nikai with palm branches.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Reign of Commodus or later because the High Priest M. Antonius Apellas Severinus was not active before this time (Robert 1940, 170).
References: Robert, L., *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec*. Paris: Eduard Champion, 1940, 170, no. 156.
Text (Robert):

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ·
Ὑπόμνημα φαμιλίας
καὶ κυνηγεσίων Μ. Ἀν-
τωνίου Ἀπελλᾶ Σεουη-
ρείνου ἀρχιερέως, υἱοῦ
Μ. Ἀντωνίου Ὑψικλέ-
ους ἀρχιερέως

l. 3 & 6: Μ(άρκου), an abbreviation for the Greek genitive version of the Latin praenomen Marcus.

Translation (Author):
For good fortune: A memorial of the (gladiatorial) *familia* and the *venatores* of Marcus Antonius Apellas Severinus, high-priest, son of Marcus Antonius Hypsikles, high-priest.

No. 236
Balboura

Object Type: Lintel block.
Provenience: Temple of Nemesis erected by Onesimos in the Agora.
Date: Probably the reign of Antoninus Pius; certainly before the 161 A.C. exedra of Meleager built up against the temple (Coulton, et al. 1988, 130).
References: Coulton, J. J., et al., Balboura Survey: Onesimos and Meleager, Part I, *Anatolian Studies*, 1988, 130, no. 7.
Text (Coulton):

Τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ δεσπόταις Ὀνήσιμος δημόσιος
  κατεσκεύασεν τὸν ναὸν τῆς Νεμέσεως
    σὺν τοῖς ἀ̣γάλμασιν.

l. 1: There are stars placed at either end of the line and between δεσπόταις and Ὀνήσιμος.
l. 2: There are stars placed at either end of the line and between ναὸν and τῆς.
l. 3: A circled star is inscribed after ἀγάλμασιν, and another is supplied by Coulton, et al. before σὺν.

No. 237
Bennisoa (Aezanis/Altentash)

Object Type: Funerary stele.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Uncertain.
References: *CIG* III.add.3857m; Kaibel, G., *Epigrammata Graeca*, Berlin: G. Reimer, 1878, no. 367, and further references there.
Text (Kaibel):

Ἀέν̣[ε]ον τόδε σῆμα πατὴρ εἵδρυσε θυγατρί,
  ἀθανάτην μνήμην, μνημόσυνον δάκρυον.
μήτηρ δὲ βαρυπενθ[ὰ]ς ἐπὶ τέκνου ταχιμοίρου
  ἐμαυτὴν ζῶσα συνκατέθηκα τάφῳ,
  ἀλ]κ̣[υ]ονὶς [γ]α̣[ε]ρ̣[οῖ]ς δάκρυσι μυρομένα.
χαίροις, (ἐ)σθλὲ ὁδεῖτα· σοφῷ νοὶ μάννυε τειμὰν
Πλούτωνος βασιλῆος ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
  ᾧ χωρὶς μακάρων πάντες ὀφειλόμεθα·
ἔστι γὰ̣[ρ] καὶ ἐν φθιμένοις Νέμεσις μέγα, ἔστι ἐπὶ τύμβοις
  [μὴ.....] τύμβον, ἄλλ' ἄναγνους πάριθι.
    Τειμέας κ(αὶ) Νάνα γονεῖς.

l. 1: The *CIG* restores as Ἀέν[α]ον.
l. 2: The *CIG* reads μνήμην as τειμήν.

l. 3: The *CIG* restores as βαρυπενθ[ή]ς.
l. 5: The *CIG* reads the text as ΕΙΝΕΚΟΝΙΣΤΟΡΓΗΣ and restores it as εἵνεκ' [ἐμῆς] στοργῆς. Kaibel cites a correction based on other inscriptions and proposes the restoration above.
l. 6: The *CIG* reads as σοφῶν οἱ.
l. 9: The *CIG* reads as κἂν.
l. 10: The *CIG* restores the beginning of the line as χ[αίροις· μὴ] and the end as ἄλλα [κο]έ[ων] πάριθι.

Translation (Contributed by Ippokratis Kantzios):
A father set up this everlasting monument to his daughter, an immortal monument, a memorial tear. And I, her mother, deeply sorrowing over my swift-dying child, deposited myself, living in her tomb, an alcyon moist with mournful tears. May you rejoice, great traveller. Announce for wise mind the honor of Pluto, king of earthly men, to whom all of us, with the exception of the blessed, are liable. For Nemesis is a great thing even among the dead; she is also on the tombs. Do not pass by (this) tomb, reading another. The parents Teimeas and Nana.

No. 238
Ephesos ?
Object Type: Marble altar, Ht.: 35 cm., Width: 20 cm., Thickness: 18 cm.
Provenience: Possibly brought from region of Smyrna.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Meriç, R., et al., *Die Inschriften von Ephesos, Teil VII.1.* Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1981, 232, no. 3331, and further references there.
Text (Meriç, et al.):
Ἀσκληπιακὸς
Νεμέσεσιν
εὐχήν

No. 239
Ephesos
Object Type: Marble fragments.
Provenience: Theater, built into a later wall near the entrance to the north parodos. Probably originally from a Nemesis shrine in the stage building where a statue of the goddess was uncovered.
Date: Marcus Aurunceius Vedius Mithridates was contemporary of Gordian III (Merkelbach, et al. 1980).
References: Heberdey, O., Vorläufige Berichte über die Grabungen von Ephesus, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes* 1,

1898, Beibl., 78; Merkelbach, R., et al., *Die Inschriften von Ephesos, Teil VI, 1980.* Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1980, 28-29, no. 2042.
Text (Heberdey = Merkelbach):
ἀγαθῇ τύχ[ῃ]
ἡ πόλις ἐπεσκ[εύ-]
ασεν τὸ πρόν[α-]
ον τοῦ Νεμεσε[ίου]
ἐκ προσόδων [Ἰουλί-]
ας Ποτεντίλλ[ης]
γραμματεύον[τος]
Μ. Ἀρουνκηίο[υ]
[Ο]ὐηδίου Μιθριδ[άτου]

l. 9: Μ(άρκου), an abbreviation for the Greek genitive version of the Latin praenomen Marcus.

Translation (Author):
For good fortune: the city restored the pronaos of the Nemeseion from the revenue of Julia Potentilla, at the time when Marcus Aurunceius Vedius Mithridates was *grammateus.*

No. 240
Ephesos
Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: In front of the western side of the Stadion
Date: Reign of Nero, based upon the known date of the dedicant from other inscriptions.
References: Heberdey, O., Vorlaüfiger Gericht über die Grabungen in Ephesos, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes* 15, 1912, Beiblatt 181-82; Börker, C., et al., *Die Inschriften von Ephesos, Teil II.* Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1979, 138, no. 411.
Text (Heberdey = Börker, et al.):
[Ἀρτέμι]δι Ἐφεσί[αι].....[[Νẹ́ρ̣ων̣ι̣]] Κ̣αίσα̣ρ̣[ι Σεβαστῶι] [[Γ̣ε̣ρ̣μ̣α̣ν̣ι̣κ̣ω̣ι̣]]|[Γ. Στερ]τίνιος Ὄρπηξ σὺν Στερτιν[ίαι Μαρείναι τῆι ἑα]υ[τ]οῦ θυγατρί, ἱερῆ̣ι Ἀρ[τέμιδος-----τὸν τοῖ|χον τὸ]ν κατακερκίζοντ[α] κ[α]ὶ ἐ[................]ον καὶ τὰς ἐφεξῆς ἱε[-----|....]περιπ[ά]τωι κ[α]ὶ Νεικονεμεσ[είωι.............] ἔργων αὐτῶν τόπον[-----|ἐκ] τ̣ῶ̣ν ἰδίων ἐντὸς διετίας καθιέρω[σεν....τ̣ὴν δὲ ἐφε]ξῆς τρίτην σελίδα ὁ ἐ[................

Translation (author):
To Ephesian Artemis...To Nero Caesar Augustus Germanicus. Gaius Stertinius Orpex with Stertinia Marine, his daughter, priestess of

Artemis...the wall divided into *kerkidai* and...and, next, the...for covered walk and Neikonemeseion...place of (the) works themselves...dedicated from their own within a space of two years...the third sector in order...

No. 241

Halicarnassus

Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIG* II.2663, and earlier references there; Robert, L., *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec*. Paris: Eduard Champion, 1940, 182, no. 179.
Text:
(*CIG*)
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΕΡΗΤΙΑΡΙΣ
ΛΗΣΤΕΣΠΡΟΤΟΣ
ΠΑΛΟΣΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ
ΚΥΡΙΑΙΣΝΕΜΕΣΕ
ΣΙΝΕΥΧΗΝΕΠΕΝ
ΔΥΤΟΠΑΛΛΙΩΝ
ΖΕΥΓΟΣΚΑΙΕΝΟΙ
ΔΙΑΚΑΙΧΟΙΡΟΝΤΛΙΣ
ΟΣΑΙΣΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ
ΙΟΗΛΛΔΕΚΑΙΤΩΦΟΙΝΙ
ΩΝΗΚΑΙΘΥΣΙΑΣ

In general, the *CIG* considers this version of the text to have gone astray in several places.

l. 1: The *CIG* reads Σ rather than Ε at the end of the name Στέφανο[ς]. The *CIG* notes that ῥητιάρις is a later form of ῥητιάριος.
l. 2: The *CIG* notes that ΛΗΣΤΕΣ is clearly corrupt. A suggestion that it be read [καὶ πα]λαιστής is rejected by the *CIG* since none of the verse edge appears lost. Instead the *CIG* prefers [ἀ]ήσ[ση]τ[ο]ς. The CIG reads Ω rather than Ο in πρ[ῶ]τος.
l. 7-8: The *CIG* reads ΩΙ rather than ΟΙ in ἐν[ώ]δια.
l. 8: The *CIG* reads ΤΑΙΣ not ΤΛΙΣ.
l. 9: The *CIG* reads ΘΕΑΙΣ not ΟΣΑΙΣ.
l. 10-11: The *CIG* restores as [ἐπ]ί[θ]η[μα] δὲ καὶ τῷ [χ]οί[ρῳ ζ]ώνην καὶ θυσ[άνους].

The complete *CIG* reading and restoration is as follows:
Στέφανο[ς] ῥητιάρις [ἀ]ήσ[ση]τ[ο]ς, πρ[ῶ]τος πάλος, εὐχαριστῶν κυρίαις Νεμέσεσιν εὐχὴν ἐπενδυτοπαλλίων ζεῦγος καὶ ἐν[ώ]δια, καὶ χοῖρον τ[α]ῖς [θε]αῖς εὐχαριστήριον, [ἐπ]ί[θ]η[μα] δὲ καὶ τῷ [χ]οί[ρῳ ζ]ώνην καὶ θυσ[άνους]

Robert prefers not to try to restore the corrupt ΛΗΣΤΕΣ in line 2, ΙΟΗΛΛ and ΦΟΙΝΙ in line 10, or .ωνην in line 11. His complete reading is:
Στέφανο(ς) ῥητιάρις
ΛΗΣΤΕΣ πρῶτος
πάλος εὐχαριστῶν
κυρίαις Νεμέσε-
σιν εὐχὴν ἐπεν-
δυτοπαλλίων
ζεῦγος καὶ ἐνῴι-
δια καὶ χοῖρον ταῖς
θεαῖς εὐχαριστήριον.
ΙΟΗΛΛ δὲ καὶ τῷ ΦΟΙΝΙ
.ωνην καὶ θυσίας.

Translation (Author based on Robert's reading):
Stephanos, ***retiarius***, [unclear] first squad, being thankful to the Ladies Nemeseis, (according to) a vow, (gave his) double robe, earrings, and a young pig to the goddesses as a thank-offering [remainder unclear, although the *CIG* restoration would read "and (using) girdle and tassels as a cover for the young pig"].

No. 242
Halikarnassos
Object Type: Fragmentary block with front and side inscription.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: built into a later fountain.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIG* II.2662, and earlier references there; Robert, L., *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec*. Paris: Eduard Champion, 1940, 183-7, no. 180.
Text:
(*CIG*)
FRONT:

a) ΟΡ	b) ΛΩΝ
ΣΤΡΗΝΟΣΑΣΙΑΤΙ	ΑΤΙΚΟΥΛΕ)ΕΙ
	ΟΥΝΑ)ΑΕΣΦΑΓ

c) ΙΑΕΩΝΝΙΚΑΝ
ΡΟΣΤΑΣΝΕΜΕ
ΣΕΙ...ΝΘΗ
ΚΕΝ

Another fragment found elsewhere possesses dimensions indicating that it is from same monument; it is added by Robert:

ΜΟΡΜ
ΖΜΑΡΑΓΔΟΣΑ

Fragment (a):
l. 1: Robert reads as ΘΡ.
l. 2: Robert does not read an Ι at the edge of the fragment. The *CIG* restores this line as Σ[ε]ρχος ᾿Ασιατι[κοῦ].

Fragment (b):
l. 1: Robert reads as ΛΩΝ.
l. 2: Robert reads as ΑΤΙΚΟΥΝΕ>ΕΝΙ. The reversed "C" is interpreted by Robert as a symbol for "στεφάνος".
l. 3: Robert reads as ΟΥΝΙΑ>ΑΕΣΦΑΓ. The reversed "C" is interpreted by Robert as a symbol for "στεφάνος".

Fragment (c):
l. 1: The Ο is smaller than the other characters. Robert reads as ΙΑΣΩΝΝΙΚΑΝΟ.
l. 3: The Ν is damaged and is restored by the *CIG*.
The *CIG* restores the fragment as ..ι[λ]έων Νικάνορος τὰς Νεμέσει[ς ἀνέ]θηκεν.

Robert's restoration of all the fragments together is as follows:

Μορμ[ύλ]λων
Ζμάραγδος ᾿Α[σ]ιατικοῦ νι(κῶν) ε' (στεφάνων) ε', νι(κᾶ) [or (ἐ)νί(κα)]
Θρ[ᾶι]ξ
Στρῆνος ᾿Ασιατ[ικ]οῦ νί(κης) α' (στεφάνου) α'· ἐσφάγη

᾿Ιά(σ)ων Νικάνορος τὰς Νεμέσεις ἀνέθηκεν

Translation (Author):
Mormyllōn Zmaragdos, belonging to Asiatikos, five victories, five crowns, victorious (or won again)
Thracian Strenos, belonging to Asiatikos, one victory, one crown; killed.
Jason, son of Nikanor, erected (this) to the Nemeseis.

No. 243
Hierapolis

Object Type: Fragment of a marble cippus.
Provenience: Reused in the Octagon of St. Philip. It has an alphabetic oracle of Apollo Kareios almost identical to, and thereby restorable through, the oracle found on marble blocks reused in the reconstruction of the Temple of Apollo at Hierapolis.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Ritti, T., *Hierapolis, Scavi e ricerche I: Fonti letterarie ed epigrafiche*. Rome: G. Bretschneider, 1985, 130-31
Text (Ritti):

[Α-Ζ]
[Ἡ Νέμεσις θνητοῖσι Δίκης] πλά<σ>τι(γ)γα σα[λεύει.]
[Θ.....................................]σιφίαν θεὸς ω ξεν[.............]
[Ι.....................................]ει τρόπος ἀνθρωπα[...........]
[Κ.....................................]ε μάτην πτερύγεσσι γε[.....]
[Λ.....................................] λόγοις γνώμη δὲ κρατ[......]
[Μ.....................................]αι ἀθανάτοισιν ἀπεχα[........]
[Νυκτὸς ἀπὸ ζοφερῆ]ς ἐφάνη ποτὲ φωσφόρος [ἀκτή.]
[Ξεῖνοι σύνβουλοί σε π]οδηγήσου[σ]ιν ἄμειν[ον.]
[Ὄμφαξ, ἢν μείνῃς, ἔ]σται καιροῖσι πέπει[ρος.]
[Πτηνοὺς καὶ κόρακα]ς νωθεῖς προθέοισι χ[ελῶωαι.]
[Ῥεύμασι μὴ πειρῶ πλώειν] μόνος ἀντιπάλοισι[ν.]
[Σώσει σ' ἀθανάτων βασι]λεὺς χρησμοῖσι Κα[ρείου.]
[Τί σπεύδεις; δύνασαι μεί]νας ἱλαρώτερος [ἐλθεῖν.]
[Ὕστερον οὐκ ἔσται, καὶ εἰ] νῦν ἐστὶν, [ὕφοπτον.]
[Φαύλους φεῦγε φίλους, πίστευε] δὲ τοῖσ[ιν ἀρίστοις.]
[Χ-Ω]

No. 244
Hierapolis

Object Type: Marble blocks.
Provenience: Reused in the reconstruction of the Temple of Apollo.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Ritti, T., *Hierapolis, Scavi e ricerche I: Fonti ltterarie ed epigrafiche*. Rome: G. Bretschneider, 1985, 131-32.
Text (Ritti):

[Α]ὐτός σοι τελέσει καιρῷ θεὸς ὅσσα μεριμνᾷς.
Βολαῖς ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς Τύχη πρέσβειρα παρέσται.
Γειαρότης, ὡς φασι, δέχου κόλποισιν ἔχιδναν.
Δείματα δενὰ φοβοῦ, σκέπτου δὲ πρὶν ἤ σέ τι δρᾶσα[ι.]
Εὐάντητον ἔχων Νέμεσιν ἔργοις ἐπιθάρσε[ι.]

Ζωῆς εἰσὶ χρόνοι· τί μάτην, ἄνθρωπε, μεριμν̣[ᾶς;]
Ἡ Νέμεσις θνητοῖσι Δίκης πλά<σ>τιγγα σαλεύει.
Θαρραλέως τὴν πρᾶξιν ὑπόστα καὶ κατάπρα̣[ξον.]
Ἰσχὺν ἐργασίη<ς> δώσει κλυτότοξος Ἀπόλλων.
Κύμασιν μάχεσθαι χαλεπὸν, ἀνάμεινον βρα̣[χύ.]
Λάμβανε, κ<οι>νωνεῖ καὶ προσδέχου λοιπὸν χαρὰν.
Μάτην ἐπείγῃ μὴ τάχυν; οὐ συνφέρει.
Νυκτὸς ἀπὸ ζοφερῆς ἐφάνη ποτὲ φωσφόρος ἀκτή.
Ξεῖνοι σύνβουλοί σε ποδηγήσουσιν ἄμεινον.
Ὄμφαξ, ἢν μείνῃς, ἔσται καιροῖσι πέπειρος.
Πτηνοὺς καὶ κόρακας νωθεῖς προθέοισι χέλ̣[υες.]
Ῥεύμασι μὴ πειρῶ πλώειν μόνος ἀντιπάλοισιν.
Σώσει σ' ἀθανάτων βασιλεὺς χρησμοῖσι Καρείου.
Τί σπεύδεις; δύνασαι μείνας ἱλαρώτερος ἐλθεῖν.
Ὕστερον οὐκ ἔσται, καὶ εἰ νῦν ἐστὶν, ὕφοπτον.
Φαύλους φεῦγε φίλους, πίστευε δὲ τοῖσιν ἀρίστοις.
Χάρμα σοι ἀποδίελπτον ἄγει θεὸς ὅς σε φυλάσσει.
Ψυχῆς ἐρχόμενον καὶ σώματος ἴσθι καθαρμόν.
Ὠ̣ θεὸς εἵλαός ἐστι τύχην προσένειμε Κάρειος.

Translation (Contributed by Ippokratis Kantzios):
God himself will accomplish for you in due measure as much as you are concerned about.
Reverend Fortune will be present for the good casts (of the dice).
Plower of the earth, as they say, take a viper into your lap.
Fear terrible terrors but consider before you do something.
Having Nemesis propitious, take courage at your deeds.
The years belong to life; why, man, do you worry in vain?
Nemesis rocks the scales of Dike for mortals.
Boldly undertake the act and complete it.
Bow-famed Apollo will give you strength of deed.
It is difficult to fight the waves, wait a bit.
Take, share and accept joy for the future.
Do you not hasten swiftly in vain; it is not profitable.
Once the light-giving coast appeared out of gloomy night.
Foreign advisors will guide you better.
If you wait, in time the unripe grape will be ripe.
Sluggish tortoises outrun birds and ravens.
Do not try to sail alone against the opposing currents.
The king of immortals will save you by the oracles of Kareios.
What do you rush? If you wait, you can come more cheerfully.
It will not be in the future and even if it is now it is suspicious.

Flee base friends; trust in the noblest.
God who protects you, brings you unexpected joy.
Know the forthcoming purification of soul and body.
To which God is gracious, Kareios has alloted good fortune.

No. 245

Ikonium

Object Type: Rectangular stele.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: C. Eburenus Maximus was governor of Galatia under Trajan or Hadrian (Ramsey 1926, 215).
References: Ramsey, W.M., Studies in the Roman Province of Galatia, *Journal of Roman Studies* 16, 1926, 214-215, no. 6.
Text (Ramsey):
Κόϊντος ᾿Ε|βουρηνὸς Μ|άξιμος| Νεμέσει ἐ|πηκόῳ

l. 1-3: Κόϊντος ᾿Ε|βουρηνὸς Μ|άξιμος is the Greek version of the Cuintus (=Quintus) Eburenus Maximus known from Latin inscriptions.

No. 246

Imsi Ören

Object Type: Rock carving.
Provenience: Cliff face, in a cleft.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Bean, G.E. & Mittford, T.B., *Journeys in Rough Cicilia 1964-1968*. Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus, 1970, 218-19, no. 249.
Text (Bean & Mittford):
Διὶ Φα-
νασεῖ ἀπ-
ευξάμε-
νος ἀπέδω-
κεν τὴν εὐ-
χὴν καὶ Νέ̣μ̣ε̣-
σιν ἀ̣ν̣έσ̣τη[σε]ν
Ν̣ι̣ν[ει]ς? οἰκ̣ο-
ν̣ο̣μ̣ῶ̣ν.

No. 247

Iulia (Phrygia)

Object Type: Funerary stele.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: reused as a doorstone in a nineteenth century house.

Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Anderson, J.G.C., A Summer in Phrygia: II, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 18, 1898, 111, no. 51; Peek, W., *Griechische Versinschriften aus Kleinasien.* Wien: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980, 33-34, no. 18; *SEG* 30, 1980, no. 1480.
Text (Peek):

[εὐή]θης τις ἀνὴρ Ἀλέ[ξ-
αν]δρος ἐνθάδε κεῖ[ται],
[ὅστ' ἔ]ζησ' ἐν εὐτυχίᾳ [καὶ
ἐς ὕψο]ς ἔβαιν' ἀρε[τάων].
[ἦλθε] δὲ μοῖρα πικρὰ [καὶ
ἀφήρ]πασεν αἴφνως νῦν
[πότμ]ον ἄφευκτον [ἰδόνθ',
ὅς κοι]νός ἐστιν ἀνά[γκῃ].
[ἔστι θε]ὸς Νέμεσις· [πρός
τὰ δίκ]αια βλέπε.

l. 2: The Δ and Ρ in [αν]δρος are damaged but legible.
l. 3: The Ζ in ἔ]ζησ' is restored, the Η in ἔ]ζησ' is damaged but legible. Anderson restores the line as [ζ]ῆσεν ⟨ἐν⟩ εὐτυχίᾳ.
l. 4: Anderson restores the line as [κὲ] ἔβα ἵνα γ' ἔ[λδετο θυμός?].
l. 5: The Δ in δὲ is restored. Anderson restores the line as [εὔτε δ]ὲ μοῖρα πικρὰ [ζωῆς νιν].
l. 6: The Σ in αἴφνως is damaged and barely legible.
l. 8: The Ν in [κοι]νός is damaged but legible.
l. 9: The Ο in [θε]ὸς and the final Σ in Νέμεσις are damaged but legible.
l. 10: Each Α in [δίκ]αια is damaged but legible.

Translation (Contributed by Ippokratis Kantzios):
A goodhearted man, Alexandros, lies here, who lived in good fortune and reached to the summit of virtues. A bitter fate came and suddenly seized him as he saw the inescapable fate which is universal by necessity. Nemesis is God. Look to the just.

No. 248

Miletos

Object Type: Marble fragment.
Provenience: Found at the Market Gate, perhaps from the Old Serapieion.
Date: Reign of Hadrian, based upon letter forms (Kanckfuss 1924, 302).
References: Knackfuss, H., *Der Südmarkt und die benachbarten Bauanlagen.* Milet I.7. Berlin: Schoetz u. Parrhysius, 1924, 302, no. 205a, and further references there.

Text (Knackfuss):

-ξανδρεύς
Ἀ̣π̣φείων ἐρωτᾷ ὁ καὶ Ἡρωνᾶς Ἀλε-

Ἐπεὶ πάντοτε οἵ τε πάτριοι θεοὶ αὐτοῦ
παρίστανται καὶ σὺ αὐτός, ἐν ᾧ ἀπάγι
ἔργῳ, διὰ τοῦτο δεῖταί σου, δέσποτα,
εἰ ἐνδόξως ὡς πάντοτε ἀπαλλάξει ἔν
τε τοῖς ἀκρωνύχοις καὶ τῇ ταυροδιδα-
ξίᾳ καὶ εἰ ἐνδόξως ὑπηρετήσει.
Ὁ Διδυμεὺς ἐθέσπισεν·
Φοῖβον καὶ θοὸν ὄμμα Σαράπιδος ἀρρήτοιο
καὶ Νέμεσιν σταδίοισιν ἐπίσκοπον ἀ̣[θλητάων]
λισσόμενος βουλαῖσι τεαῖς ἐπ̣α̣ρ̣η̣γ̣όνας ἕξ̣ε̣ι̣ς.

Translation (Author):
Appheion, also (called) Heronas, Alexandrian, asks: since both his ancestral gods and you (Apollo) always protect him in the deed which he does, on account of this, he asks you, Lord, if he will come off as conspicuously as always in both the walking on his fingers and the bull training, and if he will do service conspicuously.
Didymeus prophesied:
By praying you will have as helpers for such plans, Phoibos, (the) quick eye of unspeakable Sarapis, and Nemesis who supervises (the) stadiums of athletes.

No. 249
Miletos
Object Type: Marble block, 19.5 x 75 x 31 cm.
Provenience: Unknown.
Date: First half of the third century B.C., based upon letter form and family prosopography of the dedicant (Von Gerken & Krischen 1928, 179-81).
References: Von Gerkan, A. & Krischen, F., *Thermen und Palaestren.* Milet I.9. Berlin: Hans Schoetz u. Co., 1928, 179-81, no. 364.
Text (Von Gerkan & Krischen):
[Ἕδρας?|τ]άσδε ἀνέ[θεντ]ο [θε]ᾶ̣ι̣ Ν̣ε̣μ̣έσε[ι] τ̣ο̣[ῦ ἀμώ]μ̣ου [τοῖς π|ά]λαι Ἐργίνου παῖδε̣ς̣[....] φ̣ί̣λοι, [αἵ καὶ σῆ]|ς, Ἀγίνου, καὶ σῆς, Δημόσθενες, ἀρχῆς [μνῆμα ἕ|α]ται εὐάνδρωι τῶιδε ἐπὶ γυμνασίωι.

Restored thus, but Von Gerkan & Krischen read only εμεσε in the cast taken from the stone, and μ̣εμεσε on the stone. I cannot see "Νεμέσει" at all in the first line of the inscription as it appears in the published photograph, and in the present state of the stone it is also not legible.

Translation (Author):
(The) children of the unblemished Erginos have dedicated these seats to the goddess Nemesis by customary rites (lit. by the things of old)...friends, (the seats) which sit as a record of both your office, Aginous, and yours, Demosthenes, at this gymnasion abounding in good men.

No. 250
Miletos

Object Type: Left fragment of a marble base, 7.5 x 15 x 16 cm.
Provenience: Theater, but thought by the excavators to have come from the gymnasion.
Date: Second or first century B.C., based upon letter forms (Von Gerken & Krischen 1928, 181).
References: Von Gerkan, A. & Krischen, F., *Thermen und Palaestren.* Milet I.9. Berlin: Hans Schoetz u. Co., 1928, 181, no. 365.
Text (Von Gerkan & Krischen):
Τῆσδε θεᾶς τόδε ἄγαλ̣[μα---ἀνέθηκε]
νίκης εὐσεβέως ψῆ[φον ἐνεγκάμενος]
ἡ δὲ Δίκης πάρεδρος [Νέμεσις]
ἀ̣ν̣θρώποις ἐσθλὸ̣ν̣[----

Translation (Author):
[...dedicated] this image of the goddess, having brought forth a judgment of victory righteously. And [Nemesis] the familiar of Dike...a good thing for men...

No. 251
Miletos

Object Type: Marble altar, 61 x 51.5 cm., with a winged figure wearing a tunic and boots, and holding a bow and arrow in her L. hand; the inscription is carved on the opposite face.
Provenience: Theater (Volkmann, H., Studien zum Nemesiskult, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 26, 1928, 313, no. 33).
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Mendel, G., *Musées impériaux ottomans: Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines.* Istanbul: Musée Impérial, 1914, 78-79, no. 864
Text (Mendel):
Νεμέσι εὐχή[ν]

Translation (Author):
To Nemesis, a vow.

No. 252

Mylasa

Object Type: Fragment of an architrave.
Provenience: Possibly secondary, in a building which appears to have been connected in function with the theater on the opposite side of the hill.
Date: First century A.C., based upon letter forms (Hicks 1889, 137).
References: Hauvette-Besnault, A. & Dubois, M., Antiquités de Mylasa, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 5, 1881, 39; Hicks, E. L., Inscriptions from Thyatira, *Classical Review* 3, 1889, 137 nos. 8-9; Blümel, W., *Die Inschriften von Mylasa I.* Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1987, 135, no. 337.
Text (Hicks):
Ἀρτεμισία Πα[μφ]ίλου, ἱέρηα Νεμέσεως, μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Μενίππου τοῦ Μέλανος, ἱερέως Πειθοῦς, ἀνέθηκεν τό τε βῆμα καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ τὰ σὺν αὐτῶι Νεμέσει καὶ τῶι δήμωι.

Translation (Author):
Artemisia, daughter of Pamphilos, priestess of Nemesis, in conjunction with authority of her husband Menippos, son of Melas, priest of Peitho, has dedicated both the base and statue and the things with it to Nemesis and the people.

No. 253

Oenoanda

Object Type: Limestone block, column II.
Provenience: South of the SW corner of the "Esplanade" and east of the Agora, in the lower right part of square M1.
Date: Second century A.C. is the date of Diogenes of Oenoanda (*Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970, 348)
References: Smith, M.F., Diogenes of Oenoanda, New Fragments 115-121, *Prometheus* 8(3), 1982, 196-198, frag. 115.
Text (Smith):
τὰ δ' ὑπὸ θηρίων δο-
ρυφορεῖται, τὰ δ' ὀργίζε-
ται τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσιν, ὥσ-
περ ἡ Νέμεσις τοῖς πολ-
λοῖς δοκεῖ. δεῖ δ' ἱλα-
πὰ τῶν θεῶν ποιεῖν
ξόανα καὶ μειδιῶντα

ἵν' ἀντιμειδιάσωμεν
μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἢ φο-
βηθῶμεν.

Translation (Author):
Others are attended by a body-guard of wild beasts; others are angry with the prosperous, like Nemesis according to popular opinion; whereas we ought to make statues of the gods cheerful and smiling, so that we may smile back at them rather that be afraid of them.

No. 254
Panamara
Object Type: Base, 62 x 40 x 20 cm.
Provenience: Sanctuary of Zeus.
Date: The dedicant can be dated back to the end of the first century A.C. (Laumonier, A., Recherches sur la chronologie des pretres de Panamara, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 61, 1937, 249-50).
References: Hatzfeld, J., Inscriptions de Panamara, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 51, 1927, 84-85, no. 33; Sahin, M.Ç., *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia I*, Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 1981, 72, no. 175.
Text (Sahin):
Θεαῖς μεγίσταις Νεμέ-
σεσι Τι. Κλ. Τι. υἱὸς Κυ.
Λαίνας φιλόκαισαρ καὶ
φιλόπατρις, υἱὸς τῆς
πόλεως, ἀρ[χ]ιερεὺς
καὶ στεφανηφόρος τὸ
δ' καὶ ἱερεὺς <τὸ> γ' ἐν Κομ[υ]-
ρίοις καὶ ἐν Ἡραίοις (πρῶτος) καὶ
μόνος καὶ γυμνασίαρ-
χος ἐνιαύσειος μετ[ὰ]
τοῦ υἱοῦ Κλ. Σαβεινια-
νοῦ Παιωνίου χαρισ-
τήριον.

l. 2: Τι. Κλ. Τι. υἱὸς is the abbreviation for the Greek version of the Latin Ti(berius) Cl(audius) Ti(berii) filius. Κυ(ρίνα).
l. 7: Hatzfeld does not add the <τὸ>.
l. 8: Hatzfeld reads the end of the line as ΔΚΑΙ , but Sahin suggests ΑΚΑΙ since this titulature ἱερεὺς ἐν Ἡραίοις (πρῶτος) καὶ μόνος occurs for the dedicant in another inscription (Sahin 1981, 71, no. 173).

l. 11: κλ. here is the Greek abbreviation for the Latin genitive Cl(audii).

Translation (Author):
To the most great goddesses Nemeseis, Tiberius Claudius Lainas, son of Tiberius, Kurina, friend of the emperor and friend of his country, son of the city, high-priest and crown-bearer for the fourth time, priest for the third time at (the) festivities of (the) Komyria and at those of (the) Heraia, first and only (to have been priest so many times), and annual gymnasiarch, together with his son, Claudius Sabinianus Paionios, a thank-offering.

No. 255

Perge

Object Type: Base of a marble Nemesis statue.
Provenience: South Baths, Claudius Peison Gallery.
Date: Second century A.C., based upon a stylistic reading of the statue (Özgür 1987, no. 24); and the absence of a praenomen in the dedicant's name makes a date in the second half of the second century A.C. or later likely (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969, 27; Gordon, A.E., *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 22).
References: Inan, J., Perge kazisi 1981 çalismalari, *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 26, 1983, 11, fig. 49; Özgür, M.E., *Skulpturen des Museums von Antalya*. Istanbul: Pamfilya Reisebüro und Sayili Matbaa Druckerei, 1987, no. 24.
Text (Özgür):
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΠΕΙΣΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ

l. 1: Κλαύδιος Πείσων ἀνέθηκεν.

No. 256

Perge

Object Type: Base of a Marble Nemesis statue.
Provenience: South Baths, frigidarium.
Date: Second century A.C., based upon a stylistic reading of the statue (Özgür 1987, no. 25). Also, the imperial nomen of the dedicant indicates a date no earlier than the reign of Hadrian.
References: Özgür, M.E., *Skulpturen des Museums von Antalya*. Istanbul: Pamfilya Reisebüro und Sayili Matbaa Druckerei, 1987, no. 25.
Text (Özgür):
Π. ΑΙΛΙΟΣ ΠΛΑΝΚΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΝ
ΤΩΝΙΟΣ. ΑΦΙΕΡΩΣΕΝ

l. 1-2: Π(όπλιος) Αἴλιος Πλανκίανος Ἀντώνιος ἀφιέρωσεν. Π(όπλιος) is an abbreviation in Greek for the Latin praenomen Poplius.

No. 257
Prusa **(?)**
Object Type: An Ionic architrave, 1.2 m. x 40 cm.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: built into a church in the village of Platianos.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Wiegand, Th., Reisen in Mysien, *Mitteilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 1904, 311; Robert, L., *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec.* Paris: Eduard Champion, 1940, 133, no. 82.
Text:
(Robert):

Θεᾷ Νεμέσει τὸ α[.....
Οὐαλεριανὸς Πολύγνωτος ἐθ[.....
καὶ μονομαχ[.....

l. 1: Wiegand reads τὸ ἄ[γαλμα--].
l. 3: Wiegand reads καὶ Μονομάχη[ς?]. Μονομαχ[ία] is a more likely interpretation and is accord with Robert's assertion that Valerianus Polygnotos is a magistrate giving games.

Translation (Author):
To the goddess Nemesis the image (?)...Valerianus Polygnotos (?)...and gladiatorial show...

No. 258
Rhegium (Küçük Çekmece)
Object Type: Marble stele.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: a garden at Soguksu.
Date: Either 83 or 96 A.C.
References: Taslikliogiu, Z., Rhegion (Küçük Çekmece) Kitabeleri/Un grafe de steles trovees a Rhegion (Küçük Çekmece), *Belletin* XXIII, 1959, 545-62/563-74; *SEG* 18, 1962, 102, no. 284.
Text (Taslikliogiu = *SEG*):

Ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Θεᾶς
Νεμέσεως, ἱεροποιοῦν-
τος Τι. Κλ. Διονυσίου
(Anaglyph of Two Crowns)

τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἑαυτῶν
καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς Γάϊον Ἰούλι-
ον Ἰταλικὸν καὶ Λολλίαν
Κάτυλλαν οἱ μύσται Διο-
[νύσου Κά]λλωνος ἐτείμη-
[σαν].

l. 3: Τι. Κλ. is the Greek abbreviation for Τι(βερίου) Κλ(αυδίου), Greek genitives of the Latin praenomen and nomen Tiberius Claudius.

No. 259

Rhodiapolis

Object Type: Slab.
Provenience: On the eastern wall of the Heröon.
Date: Letters of between 124 and 153 A.C. honoring Opramoas
References: *IGR* III.739, and further references there.
Text (*IGR*):
XIX l. 1-5
Ἡφαίστου κ[αὶ τοῦ Κυρίου Αὐτοκρ]άτο
ρος δηνάρια μύρια δ[ι]σχείλι[α, Ῥο]διαπόλει
τῶν δὲ τῇ πόλει με[τ]ὰ [πᾶσ]αν ἀρχὴν
καὶ φιλοτειμίαν δύο να[οὺς Τ]ύχης καὶ Νε
μέσεος, τῇ δὲ Κορυδ[αλλ]έων πόλει[.....

No. 260

Side

Object Type: Fragments of a marble altar 43 cm. high, 20 wide 31 thick.
Provenience: Theater, in the debris of the stage building.
Date: Not earlier than the second century A.C. when the theater was rebuilt (*Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976, 835).
References: Bean, G.E., *Side Kitabeleri*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1965, 40, No. 138.
Text (Bean):
[.....]ιος
[Σώ?]ζοντο(ς)
[τὸ]ν βωμὸ(ν)
Νεμέσι

l. 2: The ζ is damaged and restored by Bean.
l. 4: The ι is damaged but legible.

Translation (Author):
...ios, son of Sozon, the altar to Nemesis.

No. 261
Side
Object Type: Rectangular altar more than 44 cm. high, 22 wide, 21 thick.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Bean, G.E., *Side Kitabeleri.* Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1965, 41, No. 139.
Text (Bean):

᾿Αγαθάγελος
τῇ κυρίᾳ
Νεμέσι
εὐχή

l. 1: The first Α in ᾿Αγαθάγελος is damaged but legible.
l. 2: The Υ in κυρίᾳ is smaller than the other letters.

Translation (Author):
Agathagelos to the Lady Nemesis, a vow.

No. 262
Side
Object Type: Limestone altar in two parts, 21 cm. high, 9 cm. wide, 8.5 cm. thick.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Bean, G.E., *Side Kitabeleri.* Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1965, 69, No. 188.
Text (Bean):

Νεμέσι
Πριμιγ(έ)-
νης
εὐχήν

l. 1: The Ν is damaged but legible.
l. 2: The Π and Γ are damaged but legible.
l. 4: The Ε and Ν are damaged but legible.

Translation (Author):
To Nemesis, Primigenes (has fulfilled) a vow.

No. 263
Smyrna

Object Type: Base.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Possibly end of the first century A.C.
References: *CIG* II.3193, and earlier references there; Petzel, G., *Die Inschriften von Smyrna IIa*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1987, 130-31, no. 641.
Text (*CIG* = Petzel):

]ΟΣΘΕΩΝ̣. ΙΠΥ̣Λ̣ΗΝΗΣΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΕΝΦΛ. ΠΑ
ΤΕΡΝΙΑΝΟΝΠΑΤΕΡΑ. Τ. ΦΛ. ΟΝΗΣΙΜΟΥΠΑΤΕΡ.
ΝΙΑΝΟΥΘΟΥΕΑΘΤΗΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ. ΚΑΙΤ. ΦΛ. ΟΝΗΣΙΜΟΝ
ΠΑΤΕΡΝΙΝΟΝ. ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΝΕΠΙΤΩΝΟΠΛΩΝΚΑΙΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΝ
Τ̣ΩΝΜΕΓΑΛΩΝΘΕΩΝΝΕΜΕΣΕΩΝΙΠΠΑΡΧΟΝΓΡΑΜΜΑ
ΤΟΦΥΛΑΚΑΠΡΥΤΑΝΙΝΠΡΩΤΟΝΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΟΝΤΑΜΙΑΝ
ΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΚΑΙΤΑΣΛΟΙΠΑΣΑΡΧΑΣΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΩΣ. ΕΚ
ΤΕΛΕΣΑΝΤΑ. ΑΛΛΑΚΑΙΕΙΣΕΙΣΕΡΓΩΝΚΑΤΑΕΚΕΥΑΣ. ΚΑΙ
ΕΡΕΞ ΝΩΝΤ
ΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΗΝΣ ΕΤΗΣΑ

ἱέρεια μητρ]ὸς θεῶν [Σ]ιπυληνῆς, ἀνέστησεν Φλ. Πατερνιανόν, πατέρα Τ. Φλ. Ὀνησίμου Πατερνιανοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρός, καὶ Τ. Φλ. Ὀνήσιμον Πατερνιανόν, στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ νεωκόρον τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν Νεμέσεων, ἵππαρχον, γραμματοφύλακα, πρύτανιν πρῶτον, ἀγορανόμον, ταμίαν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρχὰς φιλοτείμως ἐκτελέσαντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς {εἰς} ἔργ[ω]ν κατασκευὰς καὶ.......[πολλὰ ἀναλώσανται vel tale] καὶ ἑαυτὴν σ[ὺν αὐτοῖς ἀνέ]στησα?

l. 1: A personal name would have preceded the preserved text. Φλ. is the abbreviation for Φλ(άουιον), the Greek accusative for the Latin nomen Fl(avius).
l. 2: Τ. Φλ. is the abbreviation for Τ(ίτου) Φλ(αουίου), the Greek genitive forms of the Latin Titus Flavius. The ΝΗ in Ὀνησίμου is written in ligature.
l. 3: Τ. Φλ. is here the abbreviation for Τ(ίτον) Φλ(άουιον), the Greek accusative forms of the Latin Titus Flavius. The ΤΗ in ἑαυτῆς and the ΝΗ in Ὀνήσιμον are written in ligature.
l. 4: The ΤΕ in Πατερνιανόν, the ΤΡ in στρατηγὸν, and the Ν in στρατηγὸν with the Ε in ἐπὶ are all written in ligature. The Ο in ὅπλων and the Ο in νεωκόρον are smaller than the other letters.
l. 5: The Ο in ἵππαρχον is smaller than the other letters.
l. 6: The final Ν in ἀγορανόμον is written in ligature with the Τ in ταμίαν, and each Ο in ἀγορανόμον is smaller than the other letters.

l. 8: There is a mistaken duplication of εἰς. The Ω in ἔργ[ω]ν is damaged and read by one authority cited in the *CIG* as an Ο. The Ν in ἔργ[ω]ν is written in ligature with the Κ in κατασκευὰς.
l. 9: This damaged line is restored by Petzel as [π]ρ̣ε̣σ̣β̣ε̣ι̣ῶ̣[ν with 22 letters missing]ΙΩΝΦ[8-10 letters missing].
l. 10: The ΤΗ in ἑαυτὴν is written in ligature. This damaged line is restored by the *CIG* as καὶ ἑαυτὴν σ[ὺν αὐτοῖς ἀνέ]στησα; while Petzel's restoration is καὶ ἑαυτὴν ΣΥ̣[........ἀνέ]στησα.

No. 264
Smyrna

Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Dated 211 A.C.
References: *CIG* 3163, and earlier references there; Petzel, G., *Die Inschriften von Smyrna IIa*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1987, 223-24, no. 725.
Text (*CIG* = Petzel):

‘Υπὲρ διαμονῆς τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου Αὐτοκράτορος ’Αντωνίνου.
Παπίνιος ὁ φιλόσοφος, ἐγκατοχήσας τῷ κυριῷ Σαράπιδι
παρὰ ταῖς Νεμέσεσιν, εὐξάμενος αὐξῆσαι τὸ Νέμεσειον
τὸν παρατεθέντ[α] οἶκον ταῖς Νεμέσεσιν ἀνιέρωσεν, ὡς
εἶναι ἐν ἱερῷ τῶν κυριῶν Νεμέσεων τό ὅλον.
‘Ο τόπος συνεχωρήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος ’Αντωνίνου,
Γεντι{νι}ανῷ? καὶ Βάσσῳ ὑπάτοις πρὸ Νωνῶν ’Οκτωβρίων.

l. 4: The text reads παρατεθέντος.
l. 5-6: The space between these lines in wider than that between the other lines in the text.
l. 7: The insertion of the ΝΙ is mistaken. The name of the first consul should be written as Γεντιανῷ.

No. 265
Smyrna

Object Type: Five fragments of an architrave with three fasciae.
Provenience: Found in the ruins of the "West Hall" in the Agora, which may be the sanctuary of the Nemeseis mentioned as in the Agora by the Martyrdom of Pionius (Petzel 1987, 118-19).
Date: c.178 A.C. because of the restored titulature which would relate to the second Neokorate of Smyrna in 178 A.C. (Naumann & Kantar 1950, 74, 88).
References: Keil, J., Die Inschriften der Agora von Smyrna, *Instanbuler Forschungen* 17, 1950, 55, no. 2; Naumann, R. & Kantar, S., Die Agora

von Smyrna, *Istanbuler Forschungen* 17, 1950, 74, 88; Petzel, G., *Die Inschriften von Smyrna IIa*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1987, 117-19, no. 628.
Text:
(Keil):
Θεαῖς Ν[εμέσεσι καὶ....καὶ θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ π]άσαις κα[ὶ αὐτοκράτορι] Καίσ[αρι (or plural)....Σεβαστῷ ἡ πρώτη τ]ῆς Ἀσί[ας κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει καὶ λαμπροτάτ]η καὶ [μητρόπολις...

(Petzel):
[ἡ λαμπροτάτ]η καὶ [πρώτη πόλεων τ]ῆς Ἀσί[ας καὶ δὶς νεωκόρος τῶν Σεβαστῶν Σμυρναίων πόλις] θεαῖς Νε[μέσεσι...καὶ θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πά]σαις κα[ὶ Αὐτοκράτορι] Καίσ[αρι (or plural)...

No. 266

Smyrna

Object Type: Fragment of a marble denticulated sima.
Provenience: Agora, perhaps originally from the "West Hall".
Date: Perhaps c.178 A.C. if the restored titulature would relate to the second Neokorate of Smyrna in 178 A.C. (Naumann & Kantar 1950, 74, 88).
References: Keil, J., Die Inschriften der Agora von Smyrna, *Instanbuler Forschungen* 17, 1950, 57, no. 8; Petzel, G., *Die Inschriften von Smyrna IIa*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1987, 244, no. 740.
Text:
(Keil):
Θεαῖς] Νεμέσεσ[ιν αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραιανὸν
Ἄρισ]τον Σεβαστ[ὸν........

(Petzel):
Θεαῖς] Νεμέσεσ[ιν
.....νεωκόρος] τῶν Σεβαστ[ῶν Σμυρναίων πόλις......

No. 267

Smyrna

Object Type: Altar, Ht.: 28 cm, Width: 12.5 cm.
Provenience: Agora.
Date: Perhaps second or third century A.C. (Keil 1950, 56-57).
References: Keil, J., Die Inschriften der Agora von Smyrna, *Istanbuler Forschungen* 17, 1950, 56-57, no. 7; Merlin, A., Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives a l'antiquité romaine, *Revue Archéologique* 42, 1953, 62, no. 208; Petzel, G., *Die Inschriften von Smyrna IIa*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1987, 245, no. 741.

Text (Keil = Merlin = Petzel):

Οὐαλέριος
Λονγεῖνος
σημεαφό-
ρος Θεαῖς
Νεμέ
σεσιν
εὐχήν

l. 3-4: σημεαφόρος is Greek for the Latin *signifer*.

No. 268
Smyrna
Object Type: *CIG*: "in figuram mulieris". Petzel: Altar (now lost).
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Unknown.
References: *CIG* 3164, and earlier references there; Petzel, G., *Die Inschriften von Smyrna IIa*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1987, 245-46, no. 742.
Text (*CIG* = Petzel):

Νεμέσει
Ἑρμᾶς
εὐχήν

l. 2: An earlier authority mentioned by the *CIG* read as ΕΙΜΑΣ. The *CIG* brackets the Ρ, while Petzel does not.

No. 269
Smyrna
Object Type: Funerary stele ? with inscription above the left shoulder of a man in relief; suggested as a dedication from Nemeseion in the Agora by the Roberts.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Late Roman Imperial.
References: *SEG* 37, 1977, no. 773; Pfuhl, E. & Möbius, H., *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, Textband I. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1977 , no. 237; Robert, J. & L., Bulletin épigraphique, *Revue des etudes grecques* 91, 1978, 390, no. 19.
Text (*SEG* = Pfuhl & Möbius = Robert & Robert):

Θεῶν Νε
μεσέων

No. 270

Smyrna

Object Type: Broken marble plaque, 30 x 53 x 25 cm.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: built into a garden wall of a nineteenth century house.
Date: First or second century A.C. (Petzel 1987, no. 650).
References: Petzel, G., *Die Inschriften von Smyrna IIa*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1987, no. 650, and further references there.
Text (Petzel):

ΜΑ [..............................]
τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην
τῶν μεγάλων θε-
ῶν Νεμέσεων, ἐπι-
τελέσαντα τὸν
ἀγῶνα ἀξίως τῆς
πατρίδος καὶ τῶν
θεῶν

Translation (Author):
...the *agōnothetēs* of the great goddesses Nemeseis, having brought to completion the competition in a manner worthy of his country and the gods.

No. 271

Smyrna

Object Type: Marble stele.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Dated 124 A.C.
References: *CIG* II.3148, and earlier references there; Petzel, G., *Die Inschriften von Smyrna IIa*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1987, 191-97, no. 697.
Text (*CIG*):
Lines 1-6

..................................]ωριας
δὲ τὸ δ?[.................Εὐ]άρεστος τὸ ς,
ἐφ' οὗ στρατηγοῦντος ὑπέσχοντο
οἵδε. Κλ. Βάσσος ἀγωνοθέτης
Νεμέσεων στρώσειν τὴν βασι-
λικήν.

l. 2: Petzel restores as [ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Εὐ]άρεστος.
l. 4: κλ. is an abbreviation for the Greek version of the Latin nomen Cl(audius).

Translation (Author):
...Euarestos, in charge of (lit. upon) the temple for the sixth time, at the time of his holding the office of *stratēgos*, these were furnished; Claudius Bassus, *agōnothetēs* of the Nemeseis, to continue paving the basilica.

No. 272

Stratonikeia

Object Type: Slab.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: in the house of Béaz-Oglou Hussein.
Date: Roman Imperial. The exact date is uncertain. Mentor, son of Apelles is not among Laumonier's (1937) chronology of the priests of Panamara, and this is his only inscription in Sahin's corpus.
References: Cousin, G., Inscriptions d'Asie Mineure, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 15, 1891, 423-24, no. 4; Sahin, M.Ç., *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia II.1*, Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 1982, no. 1006.
Text (Cousin = Sahin):

[οἱ σ]τρατηγοὶ οἱ ἄρ-
[ξ]αντες τὴν χει-
μερινὴν τὴν ἐπὶ ἀρ-
χιερέως Μέντορο-
ς τοῦ Ἀπελλοῦ, Ἀντί-
οχος Σωκράτους
κ(ωρα)ζ(εύς), Ἀπολλώνιος
Διοφάντα τοῦ Ξά-
νθου κ(ωρα)ζ(εύς), Ἱεροκλῆ-
ς Ζήνωνος κω(ραιεύς),
καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς χώ-
ρας στρατηγὸς
Μενέδημος Ἀπε-
λλοῦ Ἱε(ροκωμήτης), ὁμονοήσ-
[αντ]ες Νεμέσει.

l. 7 & 9: The κΖ has a line over it.
l. 10: The κΩ has a line over it.
l. 14: The ΙΕ has a line over it.

No. 273

Stratonikeia

Object Type: Small stele with a rider, with his horse raising its foreleg and placing it on a wheel. To the right and left are two torches.

Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: in Hadji Hatouk's House (Cousin).
Date: Roman Imperial. The exact date is uncertain. This particular Artemidoros, son of Artemidoros is not among Laumonier's (1937) chronology of the priests of Panamara, and this is his only inscription in Sahin's corpus.
References: Cousin, G., Inscriptions d'Asie Mineure, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 15, 1891, 424-25, no. 5; Laumonier, A., Inscriptions de Carie, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 58, 1934, 300-301, fig. 4, and additional references there; Robert, L., *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec*. Paris: Eduard Champion, 1940, 172; Sahin, M.Ç., *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia II.1*, Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 1982, no. 1005.
Text (Robert):
[Ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἀρ-
τεμι]δώρου τοῦ Ἀρτεμ[ιδ-
ώρο]υ πενταετηρικὸς ἀ[γὼν καὶ ?] [μο-
ν?]ομαχία ἤχθη· θερινῆς [οἱ
στ]ρατηγοὶ Διί, Ἑκά-
[τῃ], Νεμέσι ὁμονο-
[ήσ]αν-
τες

l. 1: Sahin omits ἀρχιερέως.
l. 3: Sahin accepts Robert's restoration of ἀ[γὼν καὶ], although the Α is shown as damaged and of doubtful reading.
l. 3-4: Cousin shows the Μ as legible, but Robert (pp. 268-269) suggests that [μον]ομαχία could just as easily be interpreted as [ταυρ]ομαχία. Sahin suggests also [θηρ]ομαχία.
l. 4: The ο in οἱ is shown damaged but legible in Cousin.
l. 5: The letters in this line are larger than those in the other lines.

Translation (Author):
In the time of high-priest Artemidoros, son of Artemidoros, the quinquennial competition and gladiatorial (or bull-fighting) show was celebrated; the *stratēgoi* of the summer, together, to Zeus, Hekate, and Nemesis.

No. 274

Stratonikeia

Object Type: Marble stele, 41 cm. in height.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.

Date: Hellenistic, probably between 197-166 B.C. (Sahin).
References: Sahin, M.Ç., *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia II.2*, Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 1990, no. 1317, and further references there.
Text (Sahin):

’Ε̣π̣ὶ Διομήδου̣[ς]
τοῦ Διομήδου-
ς τοῦ ‘Ιεροκλέος
χιμερινῆ{ν}ς
στρ<α>τηγοὶ ἐ-
πὶ μὲν τῆς χ̣ώ-
ρ̣ας Λεωνίδης
Λεωνίδου Κο(λιοργεύς),
κατὰ πόλιν δὲ
‘Ιεροκλῆς Θε-
ομνήστου Λο(βολδεύς),
Καλλικράτης
Χρυσίπ<π>ου ’Ια(σεύς),
Μενέδημος
Λέοντος τοῦ
Μενεδήμου Κω(ραιεὺς)
ὁμονοήσαντες
Νεμέσει· νεωκόρο̣ι̣
στέφα̣νος̣ ΟΝ̣Σ[...
...]α̣[...

l. 19-20: Sahin mentions that the original editor suggested a tentative reading of ’ονή̣[σι|μ]ο̣ς̣.

No. 275
Stratonikeia

Object Type: Marble stele, 32 cm. in height.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Second century A.C., based upon the prosopography of Aristolaos and his family (Laumonier, A., Recherches sur la chronologie des pretres de Panamara, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 61, 1937, 263-65).
References: Sahin, M.Ç., *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia II.2*, Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 1990, no. 1318, and further references there.
Text (Sahin):

Στρατηγοὶ οἱ
ἄρξαντες τὴν χει-
μερινὴν τὴν ἐπὶ
στεφανηφόρου ’Αρι-

στολάου Ἰάσων Νέ-
ωνος Λο(βολδεὺς) καθ' υ(ἱοθεσίαν δὲ) Ἀριστέο[υ]
Κω(ραιεύς), Διονύσιος Φα-
νίου Κω(ραιεύς), Πολύαρ-
χος Ἑρμοκράτου Λο(βολδεὺς)
καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας
στρατηγὸς Λέ-
ων Δημοσθένου
Κω(ραιεύς) ὁμονοήσαν-
τες Διὶ Στρατείῳ
καὶ Νεμέσει χα-
ριστήριον· νεω-
ποιὸς Μουσαῖος.

No. 276
Termessos

Object Type: Unspecified.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Hill, G.F., Inscriptions from Lycia and Pisidia Copied by Daniell and Fellows, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 15, 1895, 128, no. 26; *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Romanas Pertinentes* III, 171, no. 455.
Text (Hill = *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Romanas Pertinentes*):
[damaged, would have been the name of the dedicant]
εἰρήναρχος
Νεμέσει
Ἀδραστείᾳ

No. 277
Troy (Ilion)

Object Type: Column, 25 cm. high.
Provenience: The Great Theater.
Date: The absence of a praenomen in the dedicant's name makes a date in the second half of the second century A.C. or later likely (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969, 27; Gordon, A.E., *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 22).
References: Brückner, A., Die Inschriften. In *Troja und Ilion*, ed. W. Dörpfeld. Athens: Beck & Barth, 1902, 474, no. 100; Frisch, P., *Die Inschriften von Ilion*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1975, 229-30, no. 127.
Text (Brückner = Frisch):
Λούκιος

Σατρεῖος
Νεμέσι εὐ
χὴν εὐηκῷ

Translation (Author):
Lucius Satrius to Nemesis who is inclined to give ear to (my) prayer.

No. 278
Unknown (but probably from the Troad)
Object Type: Stone block.
Provenience: Unknown.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Frisch, P., Nemeseia und Barbilleia in Smyrna, *Zeitschrift für Papyrus und Epigraphik* 15, 1974, 162.
Text (Frisch):
(broken)
........]ἐν Ἐφ[έσ]ῳ Ἐφέσεια, ἐν [...]
Νεμέσεια καὶ Βαρβίλλε̣ια ἀγ̣[ε]-
νείων καὶ ἀνδρῶν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ
καὶ πάλι τὰ ἑξῆς, καὶ ἐν Περγά̣-
μ̣ῳ Βαρβίλλεια, Τράλλεις κοι-
νὸν Ἀσίας, Μαγνησίαν Λευ-
κοφρύνεια, ἐν Ῥόδῳ Ἅλεια.

l. 1: Frisch restores the damaged portion at the end of line as Σ̣μ̣[ύρνη̣.

Translation (Author):
...in Ephesos Epheseia, in Smyrna Nemeseia and Barbilleia, (the events) of boys and men in one day and these once again the next (day), and in Pergamon Barbilleia, Tralles common (games) of Asia, at Magnesia Leukophryneia, in Rhodes Haleia.

No. 279
Viza
Object Type: Marble plaque, 1.10 x .80 x .15 m., featuring Nemesis in an aedicula, holding scales and with a wheel at her feet.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: built into the House of Sadir Bey.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: Kalinka, E., Altes und Neues aus Thrakien, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes* XXIII, 1926, Beiblatt, col. 120-22, no. 4, abb. 10

Text (Kalinka):
Γ⟨άιος⟩ ᾿Ιούλιος ᾿Ινγένους [δευ]τεραρχῶν εὐξάμενος καὶ ἐ|πιτυχὼν χαριστήριον

l. 1: A leaf separates Γ from ᾿Ιούλιος. The Γ, Ε, second Ν and Σ in ᾿Ινγένους are damaged but legible. The dedicant bears a Greek version of the Latin name G(aius) Julius Ingenuus. His office is that of duumvir.

Ukraine

No. 280

Chersonesos

Object Type: Altar, 67 x 30 x 18 cm.
Provenience: Theater, eastern section of the proscaenium.
Date: Discovered in a fourth century A.C. layer, although the altar itself is probably earlier.
References: *L'année épigraphique* 1967, 127-128, no.430, and further references there.
Text (*L'année épigraphique*):
D(eae) NEMES[i c]O
NSERVATRICI
T(itus) FL(avius) CELSI
NVS [bf] CO(n)S(ularis)
LEG(ionis) XI CL(audiae) [p]
RO SALVTE
SVA ET FIL
IORVM <i>
VOT(um) POS(uit)

Translation (Author):
To the goddess Nemesis Conservatrix, Titus Flavius Celsinus [*beneficiarius*] *consularis* of Legion XI Claudia has erected this votive for his own well-being and that of his children.

Yugoslavia

No. 281

Belgrade

Object Type: Fragment of an altar, 58 x 30 x 30 cm.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: The absence of a praenomen in the dedicant's name makes a date in the second half of the second century A.C. or later likely (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969, 27; Gordon, A.E., *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 22).

References: *L'année épigraphique* 1971, 135, no.414, and further references there.
Text (*L'année épigraphique*):
NEMESI
AVG(ustae)
AVF(idius) ING[e]
NVVS OṚT
DP̣.....

l. 4: opt(io) or ort(us) ?
l. 5: d(onum) p(osuit) ?

No. 282
Komine
Object Type: Altar, 80 cm. in height.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *L'année epigraphique* 1971, 102, no.303, and further references there.
Text (*L'année epigraphique*):
DEAE XANT(a)E NEMESI ET GENI
O MVNICIP(i) H[.....] SATVRNINVS
<B>(ene)F(iciarius) CO(n)S(ularis) LEG(ionis) XI CL(audiae)
LIBIES (sic) POSVIT

l. 1: Xant(a)e is suggested in *L'année epigraphique* to perhaps be Sanct(a)e.
l. 5: Attention is drawn by *L'année epigraphique* to the spelling libies for libens.

Translation (Author):
To the holy goddess Nemesis and the Genius of the city, H[?] Saturninus, *beneficiarius consularis* of Legion XI Claudia, has willingly erected (this).

No. 283
Pec Area
Object Type: Altar, 36 x 30 cm.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: in the village of Slatina, near Socanica.
Date: First part of the third century A.C. (Sasel & Sasel). The absence of a praenomen in the dedicant's name makes a date in the second half of the second century A.C. or later likely (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969, 27; Gordon,

A.E., *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 22).
References: Sasel, A. & J., *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt.* Ljubljana, 1963, 44, no. 69, and further references there.
Text (Sasel):
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) ET NEMESI
REG(inae) GENIO
STAT(ionis) M() DARD(anorum)
SEPT(imius) VITALIS
B(ene)F(iciarius) CO(n)S(ularis) LEG(ionis)
VII CL(audiae) V(otum) L(ibens) S(olvit)

l. 3: The Sasels propose m(etalla). An earlier suggestion was m(ons or ontes).

Translation (Author):
To Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Nemesis Regina, Genius of the post M(?) of the Dardani, Septimius Vitalis, *beneficiarius consularius* of Legion VII Claudia, has willingly fulfilled a vow.

No. 284
Sirmium

Object Type: Altar, brown sandstone, height: 31.5 cm., width: 17 cm., thickness: 11.5 cm.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is known; seconadry context: courtyard of a house at Trg. Sr. Dmitrija.
Date: The absence of a praenomen in the dedicant's name makes a date in the second half of the second century A.C. or later likely (Alföldy, G., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969, 27; Gordon, A.E., *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 22).
References: *CIL* III.15136.1, and earlier references there; Mirkovic, M., *Sirmium—Its Hisory from the I Century A.D. to 582 A.D., Sirmium I.* Belgrade, 1971, 67, no. 23, and further references there.
Text
(*CIL*):
NEMESI
AVG
C. LARININ
V. S. L. M.

(Mirkovic):
NEMESI
AVG
SEP(timius) PINNIS (?)
V S L M

l. 3 The *CIL* reads the nomen as Larimin(us) in its index even though the way in which the inscription is presented looks more like Larinin(us). The L in Larinin(us) is written as λ, while the A is written without the crossbar.
l. 4: v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito). The L is written as λ.

No. 285
Viminacium
Object Type: Depiction of nude figure.
Provenience: Exact provenience is unspecified.
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* III.8107, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
DEAE NE[mesi...pro se et
SVIS[...

l. 1: The AE in deae and the NE in Ne[mesi] are written in ligature.

No. 286
Viminacium
Object Type: Statue of a woman with a sphinx in bas-relief, 60 cm. in height.
Provenience: Exact original provenience is unknown; secondary context: "apud parochum" (*CIL*).
Date: Roman Imperial.
References: *CIL* III.8108, and further references there.
Text (*CIL*):
DEAE SANC̣TAE NEMESI

APPENDIX THREE

NEMESIS AND THE GRIFFIN: A CORPUS OF THE EVIDENCE

EXAMPLES OF A GRIFFIN WITH A WHEEL

Coinage: Smyrna, on autonomous coinage probably Antonine in date (*BMC Ionia* 257.179, 184, 186; 258.189; 280.349; Posnansky 1890, 132).
Statuary and Relief: Marble statue from Erez in Israel, now in the Israel Museum,dated by inscription to 210-211 A.C. (Leiboveitch 1958, pls. 25-29); faience statuette from Akhmim in Egypt, now in the Brooklyn Museum (Flagge 1976, fig. 140); bronze statuette from Egypt, now in Paris (Flagge 1976, fig. 141); two relief stelae from the amphitheater at Lepcis Magna (Di Vita-Evrard Private Communication, 3/90); limestone mould from Egypt, now in the British Museum, datable to the second century A.C. (Perdrizet 1914, 94-95, fig. 3; Daux 1942-43, 140-43); funerary relief now in Bologna (Flagge 1976, 113-14, fig. 135); panel of a sarcophagus in Rome at the Lateran (Flagge 1976, 121, fig. 148).
Gems: a carnelian and a black agate in the Leonis Collection, dated stylistically to the late second or third century A.C. and the second century A.C. respectively (Vollenweider 1984, 277-8.485, fig. 485; 278.486, fig. 486); a jasper in Hamburg (Inv. #1965.122), dated stylistically to the third-fourth centuries A.C. (Schlüter, et al. 1975, 390.82, fig. 82); a lapis lazuli in Ann Arbor (Inv. #26047) (Bonner 1950, 257.22, fig. 22); a jasper in the Ruthven Collection (Bonner 1950, 279.161, fig. 161); a jasper from Caesarea Maritima in Israel, dated stylically to the second century A.C. (Hamburger 1968, 32.95, pl. IV.95); a carnelian bought in Rome, now in Munich (Inv. A2272) (Brandt, et al. 1972, 38.2324, pl. 207.2324); a carnelian from Gadara in Jordan, dated stylistically to the first-second centuries A.C. (Henig & Whiting 1987, 37.396, fig. 396); a jasper bought in Istanbul, now in Bloomington, Indiana (*Selection of Ancient Gems from the Collection of Burton Y. Berry*, fig. 66); two carnelians in the Hague (Inv. 781-2), dated stylistically to the first-second centuries A.C. (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, 261.693-4, figs. 693-4).
Tesserae and tessera imprints from Palmyra (Ingholt, Seyrig, Starcky 1955, 28, no. 194; 32, no. 229; 44, nos. 314-16; 46, no. 331; 135, 1008).

EXAMPLES OF NEMESIS WITH THE GRIFFIN

Coinage: Smyrna, on bronze coinage of Commodus and Septimius Severus (*BMC Ionia* 281.359, pl. XXIX.9, 282.364, 282.365-66); Laodikeia, on bronze coinage of Philip Junior (Posnansky 1890, 148); Attaleia, on bronze coinage of Commodus, Gallienus, and Trebonianus Gallus (Posnansky 1890, 149-50); Isindos, on bronze coinage of Maximinus Thrax (Posnansky 1890, 150) and Volusian (*SNG Copenhagen* VI. Pisidia, 166); Side, on bronze coinage of Alexander Severus (Posnansky 1890, 150); Rhodiapolis, on bronze coinage of Gordian III (Tranquillina) (Posnansky 1890, 150); Pednelissos, on bronze coinage of Commodus (Posnansky 1890, 150); Prostanna, on bronze coinage of Philip Junior (Posnansky 1890, 150); Termessos, on bronze coinage of uncertain Imperial date (*SNG Copenhagen* VI. Pisidia, 325); Thyateira, on bronze coinage of Soaemias (Posnansky 1890, 152); Markianopolis, on bronze coinage of Caracalla and Geta (Posnansky 1890, 153); Nikopolis, on bronze coinage of Alexander Severus (*BMC Galatia* 265.2, pl. XXXI.10); Baris, on bronze coinage of Alexander Severus (*BMC Pisidia* 207.4, pl. XXXIV.3); Gagai, on bronze coinage of Gordian III (Tranquillina) (*BMC Lycia* 59.2, pl. XIII.2).

Statuary: Marble statue from Perge, found on the floor of a Late Antique Gate, now in the Antalya Museum (A.3313), dated stylistically to the second century A.C. (*Antalya Museum Catalogue* 1988, 207.97, pl. 97); marble statue from the frigidarium of the S. Baths at Perge, now in the Antalya Museum (18.13.79), dated stylistically and especially epigraphically to no earlier than the reign of Hadrian (Özgür 1987, no. 25); marble statue from Kremna, now in the Burdur Museum, similar to the first from Antalya (Inan, Private Communication 12/89); marble statue from the stage building debris of the great theater at Ephesus, dated tylistically to the late second-early third century A.C. (Schweitzer 1931, 208, fig. 9); marble statue from the palaestra at Salamis, dated to the second century A.C. because of the time of the restoration of the palaestra (Karageorghis 1964, 12-14, pl. XII); marble statue from Callatis, now in the Mangalia New Museum, dated stylistically and epigraphically to the first half of the third century A.C. (Bordenache 1960, 506-508, fig. 2a-c); limestone statue from the Nemesis sacellum at the military amphitheater at Carnuntum, now in the Museum Carnuntinum, datable no earlier than the reign of Hadrian because of the time of the posting at Carnuntum of the legion named in the inscription (Vorbeck & Beckel 1973, fig. 48); limestone statue from the Governor's residence at Aquincum, now in the Budapest City Museum, dated stylistically to the second-third centuries A.C. (Szilágyi 1956, 100, 153; 1976, fig. 7); limestone statue from Viminacium, datable stylistically to the second century A.C. (Ladek, et al. 1901, 120-21, fig. 11); marble statue possibly from Anatolia, now in the Staatliche Kunstsammlung in Kassel, datable stylistically to the second century A.C. (Gercke 1983, 528-29, fig. 11); marble statuette from Le Chatelet in France, now lost (Espérandieu 1915, 122-23, no. 4737);

Relief: A marble relief plaque from Patras, now in the Patras Museum (687), dated stylistically to the Trajanic or early Hadrianic periods (Papapostolou 1989, 371-78, fig. 16); a marble relief from Andautonia, now in the Zagreb Archaeological Museum (125), datable, because it reuses an inscribed stone of 84-85 A.C., to probably no earlier than the second century A.C. (Selem 1980, 265-66.3, pl. XLII); a relief from the Palmyrene Gate at Dura Europos, dated by an inscription to 228/29 A.C. (Baur & Rostovtzeff 1929, 47-48, no. 2; Seyrig 1932, 52, pl. XVII); a relief from the amphitheater at Gortyna, now in the British Museum (Perdrizet 1898, 599-600, pl. 16; Flagge 1976, fig. 132); a limestone relief from Egypt, now in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (Perdrizet 1898, 599-602, pl. 16.1; Flagge 1976, fig. 136); a limestone relief from Thessaloniki, now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, dated to the second or third century A.C. by letter form of inscription (Perdrizet 1914, 89-91; Flagge 1976, fig. 131); a limestone relief from Phoenician Laodikeia, now in Damascus at the National Museum (7868) (Zuhdi 1961-62, 86-87, fig. 5; Al-Salihi 1985, 144, fig. 55); a marble relief from Debeli Lak, Bulgaria, now in the Serdica Museum (771) (Mihailov 1966, no. 2140); a relief from the amphitheater at Sarmizegetusa, now in the Sarmizegetusa Museum, datable because of its presence in Dacia certainly later than Trajan's conquest of 106 A.C. (Daicoviciu & Daicoviciu 1962, 78.20).

Gems: A nicolo in the Kunsthistorisches Museum (IX B 603) in Vienna, dated stylistically to the second-third centuries A.C. (Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, 157.1218, pl. 106.1218); a jasper in the British Museum (Walters 1926, 114.1266, fig. 1266).

APPENDIX FOUR

NEMESIS AND THE SCALES, WHEEL, AND MEASURING STICK

THE SCALES AS AN ATTRIBUTE OF NEMESIS

Gems: A carnelian in Munich, dated to the second-third centuries A.C. by style (Brandt, et al. 1972, 90.2690, pl. 251.2690).
Coinage issues: Tium mint, bronze coinage of M. Aurelius (Posnansky 1890, 143); Nikomedia mint, bronze coinage of Alexander Severus (Posnansky 1890, 145); Laodikeia mint, bronze coinage of Ottacilia Severa (*SNG Copenhagen* VI. Phrygia: 604); Kallatia mint, bronze coinage of Philip Senior (Posnansky 1890, 153); Markianopolis mint, bronze coinage of Macrinus and Diadumenianus, Elagabalus, Alexander Severus (Posnansky 1890, 153-54); Nikopolis-on-the-Istros mint, bronze coinage of Julia Domna, Geta, Macrinus, Elagabalus, Gordian III (Posnansky 1890, 155-56); Tomis mint, bronze coinage of Geta, Gordian III & Tranquillina, and Philip Junior (Posnansky 1890, 156); Anchialos Mint, bronze coinage of Geta, and Gordian III (Posnansky 1890, 157); Deultum, bronze coinage of Macrinus, Diadumenianus, Alexander Severus, Julia Mamaea, Maximus, Maximinus, Gordian III , Philip Senior, and Philip Junior (Posnansky 1890, 157-58; Jurukova 1973, 46); Pautalia, bronze coinage of Caracalla (Posnansky 1890, 158-59); Perinthos, bronze coinage of Geta, and Tranquillina (Posnansky 1890, 159); Philippopolis, bronze coinage of Geta, and Elagabalus (Posnansky 1890, 159); Trajanopolis, bronze coinage of Caracalla, and Geta (Posnansky 1890, 159; *BMC Thrace* 180.29); Tralles, bronze coinage of Gordian III (*BMC Lydia* 362.206, pl. xli.11).
Terracotta: A lamp type from Egypt, datable by type to the third century A.C. (Bailey 1988, 250.Q2053-54, pl. 43).
Stone Sculpture: A relief from Debeli Lak (Mihailov 1966, no. 2140); a relief and a statue from Apulum (Baluta 1976, 143-45, fig. 5; *CIL* III.1126); two reliefs from Laodikeia in Syria (Zuhdi 1961-62, 86-88, figs. 5-6; al-Salihi 1985, 144, figs. 55-56); a relief from Thessaloniki (Perdrizet 1914, 89-91); a relief from Egypt (Perdrizet 1912, 263, fig. 1; Volkmann 1928, fig. 2); a relief on an altar from Thiatyre (Mendel 1914, 52-54, no. 846); a graffito at Baalbek (Wiegand 1924, 127-28, fig. 180); a relief on a marble plaque from Viza (Kalinka 1926, 120-22, no. 4, fig. 10); and perhaps two late second century A.C. reliefs from Hatra (al-Salihi 1985, 134-42, figs. 38-42).

THE WHEEL AS AN ATTRIBUTE OF NEMESIS

Gems: Two carnelians in the Leonis Collection, dated to the late first century B.C.-early first century A.C. and second century A.C. by style (Vollenweider 1984, 142.249, fig. 249; 244.415, fig. 415); two carnelians in the Hague, dated to the first-second centuries A.C. and second-third centuries A.C. by style (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, 301.875, fig. 875; 327.981, fig. 981); a carnelian in Bologna, dated to the first century A.C. by style (Mandrioli Bizzarri 1987, 75.93, fig. 93); two sards and a carnelian from Gadara, dated to the first and second centuries A.C. by style (Henig & Whiting 1987, 22.202, 204, 206; figs. 202, 204, 206); a carnelian in Sofia, dated to the first century A.C. by style (Dimitrova-Milceva 1980, 55.99, fig. 99); a carnelian from Novae in Bulgaria, dated to the third century A.C. by context (Dimitrova-Milceva 1980, 55.100, fig. 100); a carnelian from Pompeii, dated to pre-79 A.C. (Pannuti 1983, 62.91, figs. 91-91a); three carnelians in Munich, dated to the third-fourth centuries, third century, second-third centuries A.C. by style (Brandt, et al. 1972, 80.2616, pl. 242.2616; 81-82.2631, pl. 244.2631; 90.2690, pl. 251.2690); a gem of uncertain material and two glass pastes in Munich (Brandt, et al. 1972, 122-23.2918, pl. 283.2918; 162.3166, pl. 306.3166; 162.3167, pl. 306.3167); two nicolos and a carnelian in Vienna, dated to the second-third centuries A.C. by style (Zwierlein-Deihl 1979, 157.1218, pl. 106.1218; 217-18.1571-72, pl. 157.1571-72); a hematite in the Seyrig Collection (Bonner 1950, 263.57, fig. 57); an impression in Würzburg, dated to the first century A.C. by style (Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, 150.308, pl. 58.308); three prasius, a carnelian, and a jasper in Berlin, dated to the Imperial period by style (Furtwängler 1896, 115.2444-45, figs. 2444-45; 230.6284, fig. 6284; 272.7334, fig. 7334; 309.8438, fig. 8438); a prasius in Braunschweig, dated to the second-third centuries A.C. by style (Scherf, et al. 1970, 30-31.82, fig. 82); a carnelian in Hannover, dated to the third century A.C. by style (Schlüter, et al. 1975, 277.1504, fig. 1504); a chalcedony in Hamburg, dated to the second century A.C. by style (Schlüter, et al. 1975, 389.80, fig. 80); three jaspers and three sards in London (Walters 1926, 114.1266, fig. 1266; 183.1695-97, 1699, figs. 1695-97; 184.1704).

Coinage issues: Imperial silver issue of Aemilian, minted probably in the Balkans (Robertson 1977, cxi); Smyrna mint, bronze coinage of uncertain Imperial date, of Antonine date (2), of Lucilla, Commodus (2), Crispina, Septimius Severus (4), Julia Domna (4), Geta (3), Alexander Severus, Gordian III (2), and Gallienus (Posnansky 1890, 132-38; *BMC Ionia* 254.157, 261.221, 263.227-32, 265.240, 284.372, 285.383-84, 291.422, 292.428, 298.464, 304.499); Samos mint, bronze coinage of Trajan Decius,

Etruscilla, and Gallienus (3) (Posnansky 1890, 141; *BMC Ionia* 391.348-59, 393.374, 394.379); Mytilene mint, bronze coinage of Antoninus Pius (*BMC Aeolia* 206.201); Tium mint, bronze coinage of uncertain Imperial date, of Antoninus Pius (2), M. Aurelius (2), Caracalla, and Gordian III (Posnansky 1890, 143); Chalcedon mint, bronze coinage of Julia Domna, and Alexander Severus (Posnansky 1890, 144); Juliopolis mint, bronze coinage of Septimius Severus (Posnansky 1890, 144); Nicaea mint, bronze coinage of Caracalla, Macrinus, and Alexander Severus (*BMC Pontus* 164.74; Posnansky 1890, 144); Nikomedeia mint, bronze coinage of Caracalla, and Alexander Severus (2) (Posnansky 1890, 145); Sinope mint, bronze coinage of Trajan, Julia Domna, and Trajan Decius (Posnansky 1890, 145; *BMC Pontus* 102); Dorylaion mint, bronze coinage of Julia Domna, and Gordian III (Posnansky 1890, 146); Laodikeia mint, bronze coinage of Julia Domna (2), Caracalla, Julia Maesa, and Ottacilia Severa (3) (Posnansky 1890, 147-48; *SNG Copenhagen* VI. Phrygia. 586, 604-605); Peltai mint, bronze coin of uncertain Imperial date (Posnansky 1890, 148); Synnada mint, bronze coinage of uncertain Imperial date (Posnansky 1890, 148-49); Attaleia mint, bronze coinage of Commodus, Gallienus, and Trebonius Gallus (Posnansky 1890, 149-50); Aspendos mint, bronze coinage of Salonina (Posnansky 1890, 150); Isindos mint, bronze coinage of Volusian (*SNG Copenhagen VI.* Pisidia 166); Side mint, bronze coinage of Alexander Severus (Posnansky 1890, 150); Rhodiapolis mint, bronze coinage of Tranquillina (Posnansky 1890, 150); Amblada mint, bronze coinage of Philip (Posnansky 1890, 151); Agai mint, bronze coinage of Julia Maesa (Posnansky 1890, 151); Komana mint, bronze coinage of Antoninus Pius, and Julia Domna (Posnansky 1890, 152-53); Kallatia mint, bronze coinage of Philip Senior (2) (Posnansky 1890, 153); Markianopolis mint, bronze coinage of Caracalla and Geta, Macrinus and Diadumenianus, Elagabalus (3), Alexander Severus (2), Alexander Severus and Julia Maesa, Gordian III and Tranquillina (Posnansky 1890, 153-54); Nikopolis-on-the-Istros mint, bronze coinage of Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Geta, Macrinus, Diadumenianus, Elagabalus (2), Gordian III (5) (Posnansky 1890, 154-56); Tomis mint, bronze coinage of Geta, Maximinus, Gordian III
and Tranquillina, Philip Senior and Ottacilia, Philip Junior (Posnansky 1890, 156); Anchialos mint, bronze coinage of Tranquillina (Posnansky 1890, 157); Byzantion mint, bronze coinage of Soaemias, Julia Maesa (Posnansky 1890, 157); Deultum mint, bronze coinage of Diadumenianus, Macrinus, Alexander Severus, Julia Mamaea (3), Maximinus (2), Maximus (2), Gordian III (3), Tranquillina, Philip Senior (3), Philip Junior (2), and Ottacilia Severa (Posnansky 1890, 157-58; Jurukova 1973, 46); Hadrianopolis mint, bronze coinage of Gordian III (Posnansky 1890, 158);

Nikopolis-on-the-Mestros mint, bronze coinage of Caracalla (Posnansky 1890, 158); Pautalia mint, bronze coinage of Septimius Severus (2), and Caracalla (Posnansky 1890, 158-59); Perinthos Mint, bronze coinage of Geta (Posnansky 1890, 159); Philippopolis mint, bronze coinage of Geta, and Elagabalus (2) (Posnansky 1890, 159); Traianopolis mint, bronze coinage of Caracalla, and Geta (Posnansky 1890, 159); Anthedon mint, bronze coinage of Alexander Severus (*BMC Palestine* 103.4); Aelia Capitolina mint, bronze coinage of Julia Domna (*BMC Palestine* 93.65); Stobi mint, bronze coinage of M. Aurelius, Julia Domna, and Commodus (Chapouthier 1924, fig. 5; *BMC Macedonia* 104.8, 105.13); Nikopolis mint, bronze coinage of Alexander Severus (*BMC Galatia* 265.2); Amorium mint, bronze coinage of Geta (2) (*BMC Phrygia* 57.55, 57.57); Magnesia-on-the-Sipylum mint, bronze coinage of Valerian (*BMC Lydia* 155.98); Kyzikos mint, bronze coinage of the reign of Gallienus (*BMC Mysia* 45.203); Baris mint, bronze coinage of Alexander Severus (*BMC Pisidia* 207.4); Gagai mint, bronze coinage of Tranquillina (*BMC Lycia* 59.2); Germanikopolis mint, bronze coinage of Septimius Severus (*BMC Pontus* 92); Asopos mint, bronze coinage of Plautilla (*BMC Peloponessus* 132.1); Alexandria mint, bronze coinage of Trajan (3) (Christiansen 1988, 152, 159, 176).

Tesserae: Imprints from same tessera, found at Palmyra (Ingholt, Seyrig, & Starcky 1955, 44, nos. 311-13).

Terracotta: A lamp type from Egypt, datable by type to the third century A.C. (Bailey 1988, 250.Q2053-54, pl. 43); a statuette from Egypt, in Hildesheim (Kayser 1973, 121, no. 434).

Stone Sculpture: A limestone statue from the Governor's Palace at Aquincum, dated to the second-third centuries A.C. by style and context (Szilágyi 1956, 100, 153; 1976, fig. 7); a statue from Apulum, which must post-date the Trajanic conquest of 107 A.C. (*CIL* III.1126); a marble statuette from Egypt (perhaps Semenoud), in Paris, dated to the second half of the second century A.C. by the hairstyle (Baratte 1981, 171-78, figs. 1-4); a marble statuette of possible Asia Minor provenience, in Kassel, dated by style to the second century A.C. (Gercke 1983, 528-29, fig. 11); a marble statuette from Egypt (perhaps Mit-Rahineh), in the Dattari Collection, dated to the second half of the second century A.C. by hairstyle (Gercke 1983, 528-29, figs. 14-15); a marble statue from the South Baths at Perge, now in Antalya, dated to the second century A.C. (Özgür 1987, no. 25); a relief stele from Piraeus, now in Paris, dated to the second century A.C. (Gercke 1983, 528-29, fig. 12); a now lost marble statuette from Le Chatelet (Espérandieu 1915, 122-23, no. 4737); a marble relief from Augusta Traianae (Mihailov 1964, no. 1601); a marble relief from the temple of Apollo at Çavdarli, dated to the second century A.C. by the date of the building in which it was discovered (Robert 1982, 376-77, fig. 29; Fleischer 1989, 127, fig. 1); a relief upon a marble aedicula found in Rome, datable to 246 A.C. (*CIL* VI.2821); a relief upon a marble funerary altar in Florence, dated stylistically to the reign of Hadrian (Mansuelli 1958, 217, no. 225, fig. 234); a relief from Balanea, found built into an Islamic gate (Seyrig 1932, 50; 1950, 246, fig. 5); a basalt relief in Damascus (Seyrig 1950, 246-47, fig. 6; Zuhdi 1960-61, 86, fig. 4); a marble statuette from Alexandria, now in Jerusalem (*Treasures of the Holy Land* 1986, 234-35, no. 120); a limestone relief from Thessaloniki, now in Vienna, dated to the second-third centuries A.C. by letter forms (Perdrizet 1898, 599-602, pl. 16.1); a limestone relief in Alexandria (Perdrizet 1912, 273, fig. 1); a marble relief fragment from Pergamon (Mendel 1914, 76); fragments of a marble statue from the west end of the NW stoa at Corinth, dated to the second century A.C. (Edwards 1990, 531-32); a relief from Dura Europos, built into the Palmyrene gate and dated 228-9 A.C. (Baur and Rostovtzeff 1929, 47-48, no. 2); a relief from Palmyra, now in Damascus (Seyrig 1932, 52, pl. XVIII; Zuhdi 1960-61, fig. 3); a relief from the Sanctuary of Athena-Allath at Khirbet es-Sané (Seyrig 1950, 244-45); a marble statue from the Imperial Hall at Side, dated to the third century A.C. (Inan 1975, 101-102, no. 37, pl. XLVII.1-3); a marble relief found built into the Magnesian Gate at Ephesos (Fleischer 1978, 396, pl. LXXIX.2); a marble statue from the gymnasion at Salamis, dated to the second century A.C. (Karageorghis 1964, 12-14, pl. XII).

THE MEASURING STICK AS AN ATTRIBUTE OF NEMESIS

Gems: A nephrite in the Leonis Collection, dated by style to the first half of the first century A.C. (Vollenweider 1984, 244-45.416, fig. 416); a carnelian from Gadara, now in the Sa'd Collection, dated by style to the second century A.C. (Henig & Whiting 1987, 23.207, fig. 207); a jasper in Vienna, dated by style to the second century A.C. (Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, 156-57, 1217, pl. 106.1217); a carnelian and a jasper in Berlin, dated to the Imperial period by style (Furtwängler 1896, 272.7336, fig. 7336; 309.8437); a sard in London (Walters 1926, 151.1340, fig. 1340); a carnelian from Novae in Bulgaria, dated to the third century A.C. by context (Dimitrova-Milceva 1980, 55.100, fig. 100); a carnelian in Munich, dated to the second-third centuries A.C. by style (Brandt, et al. 1972, 90.2690, pl. 251.2690); a hematite in the Seyrig Collection (Bonner 1950, 263.57, fig. 57); a gem impression in Würzburg, dated to the first century A.C. by style (Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, 150.308, pl. 58.308).

Coinage issues: Kolophon mint, bronze coinage of Caracalla (Posnansky 1890, 140; *BMC Ionia* 42.47, pl. VIII.11); Kremna mint, bronze coinage of

Geta (Posnansky 1890, 151; *SNG Copenhagen* VI. Pisidia 139); Isindos mint, bronze coinage of Maximinus (Posnansky 1890, 150); Prostanna mint, bronze coinage of Philip Junior (Posnansky 1890, 150); Termessos mint, bronze coinage of uncertain Imperial date (*SNG Copenhagen* VI. Pisidia 325); Markianopolis mint, bronze coinage of Gordian III (Posnansky 1890, 154); Hadrianopolis mint, bronze coinage of Gordian III (Posnansky 1890, 158); Antiocheia-on-the-Meander mint, bronze coinage of Lucius Verus (*BMC Caria* 20.41-42); Sardes mint, bronze coinage of Domitia (*BMC Lydia* 255.129).; Tium mint, bronze coinage of uncertain Imperial date, of Antoninus Pius (1) (Posnansky 1890, 143); Nicaea mint, bronze coinage of Caracalla (*BMC Pontus* 164.74); Nicomedia mint, bronze coinage of Caracalla, and Alexander Severus (2) (Posnansky 1890, 145); Sinope mint, bronze coinage of Trajan, and Julia Domna (Posnansky 1890, 145); Dorylaion mint, bronze coinage of Gordian III (Posnansky 1890, 146); Laodikeia mint, bronze coinage of Ottacilia Severa (3) (Posnansky 1890, 148; *SNG Copenhagen* VI. Phrygia. 604-605); Peltai mint, bronze coin of uncertain Imperial date (Posnansky 1890, 148); Attaleia mint, bronze coinage of Gallienus, and Trebonius Gallus (Posnansky 1890, 149-50); Side mint, bronze coinage of Alexander Severus (Posnansky 1890, 150); Rhodiapolis mint, bronze coinage of Tranquillina (Posnansky 1890, 150); Kallatia mint, bronze coinage of Philip Senior (1) (Posnansky 1890, 153); Markianopolis mint, bronze coinage of Caracalla and Geta, Elagabalus (2), Alexander Severus (1), Alexander Severus and Julia Maesa, Gordian III and Tranquillina (Posnansky 1890, 153-54); Nikopolis-on-the-Istros mint, bronze coinage of Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Geta, Elagabalus (1), Gordian III (5) (Posnansky 1890, 154-56); Tomis mint, bronze coinage of Geta, Maximinus, and Gordian III and Tranquillina (Posnansky 1890, 156); Anchialos mint, bronze coinage of Tranquillina (Posnansky 1890, 157); Deultum mint, bronze coinage of Macrinus, Diadumenianus, Alexander Severus, Julia Mamaea (3), Maximinus (2), Maximus (2), Gordian III (3), Tranquillina, Philip Senior (2), Philip Junior (2), and Ottacilia Severa (Posnansky 1890, 157-58; Jurukova 1973, 46); Hadrianopolis mint, bronze coinage of Gordian III (Posnansky 1890, 158); Nikopolis-on-the-Mestros mint, bronze coinage of Caracalla (Posnansky 1890, 158); Pautalia mint, bronze coinage of Septimius Severus (2), and Caracalla (Posnansky 1890, 158-59); Perinthos Mint, bronze coinage of Geta (Posnansky 1890, 159); Philippopolis mint, bronze coinage of Geta, and Elagabalus (1) (Posnansky 1890, 159); Traianopolis mint, bronze coinage of Caracalla (Posnansky 1890, 159); Aelia Capitolina mint, bronze coinage of Julia Domna (*BMC Palestine* 93.65); Baris mint, bronze coinage of Alexander Severus (*BMC Pisidia* 207.4); Gagai mint, bronze coinage of Tranquillina (*BMC Lycia*

59.2); Germanikopolis mint, bronze coinage of Septimius Severus (*BMC Pontus* 92).

Stone Sculpture: A marble aedicula with two statues from Tomis, now in Constanta (Vulpe & Barnea 1968, fig. 72); a limestone statue from Apulum, dated to the reign of M. Aurelius (Condurachi & Daicoviciu 1971, 139, pl. 133); two marble statues from the South Baths at Perge, now in Antalya, dated to the second century A.C. (Inan 1983, 11; Özgür 1987, no. 24; and Özgür 1987, no. 25); a marble statue from a house at Ephesos, dated stylistically to the second century A.C. (Fleischer 1978, 392-96); a marble relief from Debeli Lak, now in Serdica (Mihailov 1966, no. 2146); two limestone reliefs from Laodikeia, now in Damascus (Zuhdi 1961-62, 86-88, figs. 5-6; al-Salihi 1985, 144, figs. 55-56); a relief on a limestone grave altar from Thessaloniki, dated 261/2 A.C. (Treu 1897, fig. 265); a limestone statue from Viminacium, now in Pozarevac, dated stylistically to the second century A.C. (Ladek, et al. 1901, 120-21, fig. 11); a statue from Apulum, which must post-date the Trajanic conquest of 107 A.C. (*CIL* III.1126); a relief on an altar from Thiatyra, in Istanbul (Mendel 1914, 52-54, no. 846); a marble statue from Callatis, now in Mangalia, dated stylistically to the first half of the third century A.C. (Bordenache 1960, 506-508, figs. 2a-c); a marble statuette of possible Asia Minor provenience, in Kassel, dated by style to the second century A.C. (Gercke 1983, 528-29, fig. 11); a relief stele from Piraeus, now in Paris, dated to the second century A.C. (Gercke 1983, 528-29, fig. 12); a now lost marble statuette from Le Chatelet (Espérandieu 1915, 122-23, no. 4737); a marble relief rom the temple of Apollo at Çavdarli, dated to the second century A.C. by the date of the building in which it was discovered (Robert 1982, 376-77, fig. 29; Fleischer 1989, 127, fig. 1); a relief upon a marble aedicula found in Rome, datable to 246 A.C. (*CIL* VI.2821); a relief upon a marble funerary altar in Florence, dated stylistically to the reign of Hadrian (Mansuelli 1958, 217, no. 225, fig. 234); a basalt relief in Damascus (Seyrig 1950, 246-47, fig. 6; Zuhdi 1960-61, 86, fig. 4); a relief from Dura Europos, built into the Palmyrene gate and dated 228/9 A.C. (Baur and Rostovtzeff 1929, 47-48, no. 2); a relief from Palmyra, now in Damascus (Seyrig 1932, 52, pl. XVIII; Zuhdi 1960-61, fig. 3); a marble statue from the gymnasion at Salamis, dated to the second century A.C. (Karageorghis 1964, 12-14, pl. XII); a pair of statues from Thasos, found between the Agora and the Odeon (Dunant & Pouilloux 1958, 162).

APPENDIX FIVE

EXAMPLES OF THE "SMYRNA" NEMESIS TYPE

MEASURING STICK AND GESTURE

Gems: A nephrite in the Leonis Collection, dated by style to the first half of the first century A.C. (Vollenweider 1984, 244-45.416, fig. 416); a carnelian from Gadara, now in the Sa'd Collection, dated by style to the second century A.C. (Henig & Whiting 1987, 23.207, fig. 207); a jasper in Vienna, dated by style to the second century A.C. (Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, 156-57, 1217, pl. 106.1217); a carnelian and a jasper in Berlin, dated to the Imperial period by style (Furtwängler 1896, 272.7336, fig. 7336; 309.8437); a sard in London (Walters 1926, 151.1340, fig. 1340); a carnelian from Novae in Bulgaria, dated to the third century A.C. by context (Dimitrova-Milceva 1980, 55.100, fig. 100); a hematite in the Seyrig Collection (Bonner 1950, 263.57, fig. 57); a gem impression in Würzburg, dated to the first century A.C. by style (Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, 150.308, pl. 58.308).

Coinage issues: Tium mint, bronze coinage of Antoninus Pius (1) (Posnansky 1890, 143); Nicaea mint, bronze coinage of Caracalla (*BMC Pontus* 164.74); Nikomedeia mint, bronze coinage of Caracalla (Posnansky 1890, 145); Kolophon mint, bronze coinage of Caracalla (Posnansky 1890, 140; *BMC Ionia* 42.47, pl. VIII.11); Kremna mint, bronze coinage of Geta (Posnansky 1890, 151; *SNG Copenhagen* VI. Pisidia 139); Isindos mint, bronze coinage of Maximinus (Posnansky 1890, 150); Prostanna mint, bronze coinage of Philip Junior (Posnansky 1890, 150); Termessos mint, bronze coinage of uncertain Imperial date (*SNG Copenhagen* VI. Pisidia 325); Antiocheia-on-the-Meander mint, bronze coinage of Lucius Verus (*BMC Caria* 20.41-42); Sardes mint, bronze coinage of Domitia (*BMC Lydia* 255.129); Sinope mint, bronze coinage of Trajan, and Julia Domna (Posnansky 1890, 145); Dorylaion mint, bronze coinage of Gordian III (Posnansky 1890, 146); Laodikeia mint, bronze coinage of Ottacilia Severa (2) (Posnansky 1890, 148; *SNG Copenhagen* VI. Phrygia. 605); Rhodiapolis mint, bronze coinage of Tranquillina (Posnansky 1890, 150); Markianopolis mint, bronze coinage of Caracalla and Geta, Elagabalus (1), and Alexander Severus and Julia Maesa (Posnansky 1890, 153-54); Nikopolis-on-the-Istros mint, bronze coinage of Gordian III (2) (Posnansky 1890, 155-56); Deultum mint, bronze coinage of Julia Mamaea, Maximinus, Maximus (2), Gordian III, and Philip Senior (Posnansky 1890, 157; Jurukova 1973, 46); Pautalia mint, bronze coinage of Septimius Severus (1) (Posnansky 1890, 158); Aelia Capitolina mint, bronze coinage of Julia Domna (*BMC Palestine* 93.65); Baris mint, bronze coinage of Alexander Severus (*BMC Pisidia* 207.4); Gagai mint, bronze coinage of Tranquillina (*BMC Lycia* 59.2).

Stone Sculpture: A marble statuette of possible Asia Minor provenience, in Kassel, dated by style to the second century A.C. (Gercke 1983, 528-29, fig. 11); two marble statues from the South Baths at Perge, now in Antalya, dated to the second century A.C. (Inan 1983, 11; Özgür 1987, no. 24; and Özgür 1987, no. 25); a relief upon a marble funerary altar in Florence, dated stylistically to the reign of Hadrian (Mansuelli 1958, 217, no. 225, fig. 234); a relief from Dura Europos, built into the Palmyrene gate and dated 228/9 A.C. (Baur and Rostovtzeff 1929, 47-48, no. 2); a relief from Palmyra, now in Damascus (Seyrig 1932, 52, pl. XVIII; Zuhdi 1960-61, fig. 3); a marble statue from the gymnasion at Salamis, dated to the second century A.C. (Karageorghis 1964, 12-14, pl. XII); a marble aedicula with two statues from Tomis, now in Constanta (Vulpe & Barnea 1968, fig. 72); a relief on a limestone grave altar from Thessaloniki, dated 261/2 A.C. (Treu 1897, fig. 265); a limestone statue from Viminacium, now in Pozarevac, dated stylistically to the second century A.C. (Ladek, et al. 1901, 120-21, fig. 11); a relief upon a marble aedicula found in Rome, datable to 246 A.C. (*CIL* VI.2821).

BRIDLE AND GESTURE

Gems: A nephrite in the Leonis Collection, dated by style to the first half of the first century A.C. (Vollenweider 1984, 244-45.416, fig. 416); a carnelian from Gadara, now in the Sa'd Collection, dated by style to the second century A.C. (Henig & Whiting 1987, 23.207, fig. 207); a jasper in Vienna, dated by style to the second century A.C. (Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, 156-57, 1217, pl. 106.1217); a carnelian in Berlin, dated to the Imperial period by style (Furtwängler 1896, 272.7336, fig. 7336); a sard in London (Walters 1926, 151.1340, fig. 1340); a carnelian in Berlin, dated stylistically to the Imperial period (Furtwängler 1896, 272.7333, fig. 7333); a jasper in Berlin, dated stylistically to the second century A.C. (Zwierlein-Diehl 1969, 188.526, fig. 526); a carnelian in Hannover, dated to the first century A.C. by style (Schlüter, et al. 1975, 183.909, fig. 909); a carnelian in Munich, dated to the third-fourth centuries by style (Brandt, et al. 1972, 80.2616, pl. 242.2616); two prasius, a carnelian, and a jasper in Berlin, dated to the Imperial period by style (Furtwängler 1896, 115.2444-45, figs. 2444-45; 272.7334, fig. 7334; 309.8438, fig. 8438)

Coinage issues: Kibyra mint, bronze coinage of uncertain Imperial date (Posnansky 1890, 146; *SNG Copenhagen* VI. Phrygia 277); Hierapolis mint, bronze coinage of a period between the reigns of Trajan and Septimius Severus or Caracalla (2) (Posnansky 1890, 146-47; *SNG Copenhagen* VI. Phrygia 415-17, 419-20); Tripolis mint, bronze coinage of Julia Domna (Posnansky 1890, 149); Pednelissos mint, bronze coinage of Commodus (Posnansky 1890, 150); Tabai mint, bronze coinage of a period between the late second century A.C. and the reign of Gallienus (Posnansky 1890, 152; *SNG Copenhagen* VI. Caria 544); Aphrodisias mint, bronze coinage of uncertain Imperial date (*BMC Caria* 34.54, pl. VI.6); Attuda mint, bronze coinage of the reigns of Trajan, and Septimius Severus (*BMC Caria* 63.7, 66.23); Trapezopolis mint, bronze coinage of uncertain Imperial date (*BMC Caria* 178.5, pl. XXVII.6); Nicaea mint, bronze coinage of Macrinus, and Alexander Severus (Posnansky 1890, 144); Dorylaion mint, bronze coinage of Julia Domna (Posnansky 1890, 146); Laodikeia mint, bronze coinage of Julia Domna (2) (Posnansky 1890, 147; *SNG Copenhagen* VI. Phrygia. 586); Synnada mint, bronze coinage of uncertain Imperial date (Posnansky 1890, 148-49); Byzantion mint, bronze coinage of Julia Maesa (Posnansky 1890, 157); Amorium mint, bronze coinage of Geta (2) (*BMC Phrygia* 57.55, 57.57).

Stone Sculpture: A marble relief found built into the Magnesian Gate at Ephesos (Fleischer 1978, 396, pl. LXXIX.2).

	Total	Conn. w/Games	Games Context
Officials/City	28	12	12
Possible Officials	1		
Military	35	11	10
Slaves	4		
Probable Slaves	15	4	4
Freedmen	1		
Probable Freedmen	7	2	2
Gladiators/Venatores	6(7*)	6(7*)	0(1*)
Iuvenes ?	3(4*)	3?(4*)	0(1*)
Other Probable Free	6	3	3
Regular Priests**	11*	3*	3*
Incerti	49	19	18
Incomplete	48	27	27
No Name	2		
Total	216	87/90	79

* This is the dedication of the priest of Nemesis on behalf of the association of the lovers of hunting. I have included the dedication within the priest category, but also within parentheses as part of the venatores or iuvenes groups. It is unclear if the lovers of hunting are venatores or something akin to the iuvenes.

** This group excludes the priests of the imperial cult and civic priests like flamenes or a sacerdos coloniae. Such priests are grouped under officials.

Table 2: Roman Imperial Minimum General Status

	Total	Conn. w/Games	Games Context
Officials/City	26	9	9
Possible Officials	1		
Military	31	8	7
Slaves	4		
Probable Slaves	14	3	3
Freedmen	1		
Probable Freedmen	7	2	2
Gladiators/Venatores	6(7*)	6(7*)	0(1*)
Iuvenes ?	3(4*)	3?(4*)	0(1*)
Other Probable Free	6	3	3
Regular Priests**	10*	2*	2*
Incerti	42	13	12
Incomplete	32	12	12
No Name	2		
Total	185	58/61	50

* This is the dedication of the priest of Nemesis on behalf of the association of the lovers of hunting. I have included the dedication within the priest category, but also within parentheses as part of the venatores or iuvenes groups. It is unclear if the lovers of hunting are venatores or something akin to the iuvenes.

** This group excludes the priests of the imperial cult and civic priests like flamenes or a sacerdos coloniae. Such priests are grouped under officials.

Table 3: Roman Imperial Maximum Epithets

	Total	Games	Games Context	Officials/City	Possible Officials	Military	Slaves
Dea/Thea	45	16	16	5		13	
Augusta/Sebaste	51	19	17	8		10	3
Invicta/Aniketos	2	2	2				
Caelestis/Ourania	3	3	3				
Praesens	1	1	1				
Sancta	8	4	4			3	
Numina	3	3	3			1	
Vindex	1						
Despoina	1						
Victrix	2					1	
Virgin	1					1	
Campestris	1					1	
Regina	17	9	8	4		5	1
Exaudentissima	1						
Omnipotens	1	1	1				
Conservatrix	1	1	1			1	
Domina/Kyria	8	3	2	1			
Dikaia	1						
Megale/-iste	4			1			
Adrasteia	2			1			
Deana/Diana	4	2	2	1		2	
Fortuna	3	2	2	1		1	
Juno	1	1	1			1	
Justitia	1						
Fata	1						
Epekoos	2				1		

Table 3: Roman Imperial Maximum Epithets

	Probable Slaves	Freedmen	Probable Freedmen	Gladiators/Venatores	Iuvenes ?
Dea/Thea	1		1	1	
Augusta/Sebaste	3		3	1	
Invicta/Aniketos					
Caelestis/Ourania					
Praesens			1		
Sancta			2		
Numina					
Vindex	1				
Despoina					
Victrix					
Virgin					
Campestris					
Regina		1			
Exaudentissima					
Omnipotens					
Conservatrix					
Domina/Kyria	1			1	
Dikaia					
Megale/-iste		1			
Adrasteia					
Deana/Diana					
Fortuna					
Juno					
Justitia					
Fata					
Epekoos					

	Other Probable Free	Regular Priests	Incerti	Incomplete
Dea/Thea	1	2	9	12
Augusta/Sebaste			15	7
Invicta/Aniketos	1	1		
Caelestis/Ourania	1		2	
Praesens				
Sancta				3
Numina			1	1
Vindex				
Despoina			1	
Victrix			1	
Virgin				
Campestris				
Regina			4	2
Exaudentissima			1	
Omnipotens			1	
Conservatrix				
Domina/Kyria	1	1	3	
Dikaia			1	
Megale/-iste			2	
Adrasteia			1	
Deana/Diana		1		
Fortuna	1			
Juno				
Justitia		1		
Fata		1		
Epekoos			1	

Table 4: Roman Imperial Minimum Epithets

	Total	Games	Games Context	Officials/City	Possible Officials	Military	Slaves
Dea/Thea	45	16	14	5		13	
Augusta/Sebaste	46	17	15	8		10	3
Invicta/Aniketos	2	2	2				
Caelestis/Ourania	1	1	1				
Praesens	1	1	1				
Sancta	8	4	4			3	
Numina	3	3	3			1	
Vindex	1						
Despoina	1						
Victrix	2					1	
Virgin	1					1	
Campestris	1					1	
Regina	15	7	6	3		4	1
Exaudentissima	1						
Omnipotens	1	1	1				
Conservatrix	1	1	1			1	
Domina/Kyria	6	1					
Dikaia	1						
Megale/-iste	3			1			
Adrasteia	2			1			
Deana/Diana	4	2	2	1		2	
Fortuna	2	1	1	1		1	
Juno	1	1	1			1	
Justitia	1						
Fata	1						
Epekoos	2				1		

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Table 4: Roman Imperial Minimum Epithets

	Probable Slaves	Freedmen	Probable Freedmen	Gladiators/Venatores	Iuvenes ?
Dea/Thea	1		1	1	
Augusta/Sebaste	3		3	1	
Invicta/Aniketos					
Caelestis/Ourania					
Praesens			1		
Sancta			2		
Numina					
Vindex	1				
Despoina					
Victrix					
Virgin					
Campestris					
Regina		1			
Exaudentissima					
Omnipotens					
Conservatrix					
Domina/Kyria	1			1	
Dikaia					
Megale/-iste		1			
Adrasteia					
Deana/Diana					
Fortuna					
Juno					
Justitia					
Fata					
Epekoos					

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Table 4: Roman Imperial Minimum Epithets

	Other Probable Free	Regular Priests	Incerti	Incomplete
Dea/Thea	1	2	9	12
Augusta/Sebaste			13	4
Invicta/Aniketos	1	1		
Caelestis/Ourania	1			
Praesens				
Sancta				3
Numina			1	1
Vindex				
Despoina			1	
Victrix			1	
Virgin				
Campestris				
Regina			4	2
Exaudentissima			1	
Omnipotens			1	
Conservatrix				
Domina/Kyria	1		3	
Dikaia			1	
Megale/-iste			1	
Adrasteia				1
Deana/Diana			1	
Fortuna				
Juno				
Justitia			1	
Fata			1	
Epekoos				1

Table 5: Roman Imperial Maximium Votive Formulae

	Total	Games	Games Context	Officials/City	Military	Slaves
V S	5	2	2	1	1	
V A L S	2	1	1			
A L V S	1	1	1			
Votum Demisit	1	1	1			
Voto Reddiderunt	1			1		
V S L T	1	1	1			
Ex Voto (Posuit)	17	10	10	3	1	
V P	2	1	1		1	
V S L M	20	6	5		5	1
V S L/V L S	4	1	1		2	1
Vovit	1				1	
Voverat	1					
Voto Fecit	1					
S L M	1					
V S L L M	4	1	1		1	
D/ D D	3					
D P	1				1	
D L L M	1					
L P	3	1	1	1	1	
L M	1	1	1	1		
L A S C	1			1		
Pos. L L	1				1	
Pos. (Posuit/Posuerunt)	3	2	2		1	1
Ex Visu	5	2	2	1	2	
Somnio Admonitus	2			1	1	
Pro Salute Sua	9	1	1	1	2	1
Pro Salute Imperatoris	9	4	4	2	4	
Pro Salute someone else	2	2	2			
Pro Se	2					
Pro someone else	1	1	1			
Salvis	1					
Fecit	4	1	1	1	1	
Insidiis Numinibus Liberatus	1				1	
Periculo Liberavit	1	1	1			
Ex Iussu	2	2	2		1	
Honoribus et Favoribus	1	1	1	1		
Omnibus Honoribus Functus	1					
Euchēn/Euchē	10	3	3	1		
Anethēken/Anethēka	13	2	2			
Kat'oneiron	1					
Kat'epitagēn	1	1	1			
Charistērion	3			2		
Aphierōsen	1					
Huper Poleōs	1			1		
Huper Autokrat.	1					
Huper eucharistias	1					
Huper Philokunēgōn	1	1	1			
Eucharistōn/Eucharistērion	4	1				
Ep'agathōi	2					
Ex Eidiōn	1					

Table 5: Roman Imperial Maximium Votive Formulae

	Probable Slaves	Freedmen	Probable Freedmen	Gladiators/Venatores
V S				
V A L S			1	
A L V S				
Votum Demisit	1			
Voto Reddiderunt				
V S L T				
Ex Voto (Posuit)	1		1	
V P	1			
V S L M	1		3	
V S L/V L S				
Vovit				
Voverat				
Voto Fecit			1	
S L M				
V S L L M				
D/ D D	1	1		
D P				
D L L M				
L P				
L M				
L A S C				
Pos. L L				
Pos. (Posuit/Posuerunt)				
Ex Visu				
Somnio Admonitus				
Pro Salute Sua				
Pro Salute Imperatoris				
Pro Salute someone else	1			
Pro Se				
Pro someone else				
Salvis				
Fecit				
Insidiis Numinibus Liberatus				
Periculo Liberavit	1			
Ex Iussu				
Honoribus et Favoribus				
Omnibus Honoribus Functus				
Euchēn/Euchē	5			
Anethēken/Anethēka				1
Kat'oneiron	1			
Kat'epitagēn				
Charistērion				
Aphierōsen				
Huper Poleōs				
Huper Autokrat.				
Huper eucharistias				
Huper Philokunēgōn				
Eucharistōn/Eucharistērion				1
Ep'agathōi				
Ex Eidiōn				

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	Iuvenes ?	Other Probable Free	Regular Priests	Incerti	Incomplete	No Name
V S				1	2	
V A L S		1				
A L V S				1		
Votum Demisit						
Voto Reddiderunt						
V S L T				1		
Ex Voto (Posuit)				6	5	
V P						
V S L M			1	7	2	
V S L/V L S				1		
Vovit						
Voverat				1		
Voto Fecit						
S L M					1	
V S L L M			1	2		
D/ D D					1	
D P						
D L L M				1		
L P				1		
L M						
L A S C						
Pos. L L						
Pos. (Posuit/Posuerunt)				1		
Ex Visu				1		1
Somnio Admonitus						
Pro Salute Sua				3	2	
Pro Salute Imperatoris				1	2	
Pro Salute someone else				1		
Pro Se				1	1	
Pro someone else				1		
Salvis				1		
Fecit			1	1		
Insidiis Numinibus Liberatus						
Periculo Liberavit						
Ex Iussu					1	
Honoribus et Favoribus						
Omnibus Honoribus Functus			1			
Euchēn/Euchē		1		3		
Anethēken/Anethēka		2	3	6	1	
Kat'oneiron						
Kat'epitagēn				1		
Charistērion					1	
Aphierōsen				1		
Huper Poleōs						
Huper Autokrat.			1			
Huper eucharistias				1		
Huper Philokunēgōn			1			
Eucharistōn/Eucharistērion		1	1		1	
Ep'agathōi				2		
Ex Eidiōn				1		

Table 6: Roman Imperial Minimium Votive Formulae

	Total	Games	Games Context	Officials/City	Military	Slaves
V S	4	2	2	1	1	
V A L S	2	1	1			
A L V S						
Votum Demisit	1	1	1			
Voto Reddiderunt	1			1		
V S L T						
Ex Voto (Posuit)	15	6	6	3	1	
V P	2	1	1		1	
V S L M	17	4	3		5	1
V S L/V L S	4	1	1		2	1
Vovit	1				1	
Voverat	1					
Voto Fecit	1					
S L M	1					
V S L L M	4	1	1		1	
D/ D D	2					
D P	1				1	
D L L M	1					
L P	3	1	1	1	1	
L M	1	1	1	1		
L A S C	1			1		
Pos. L L	1				1	
Pos. (Posuit/Posuerunt)	3	2	2		1	1
Ex Visu	5	2	2	1	2	
Somnio Admonitus	2			1	1	
Pro Salute Sua	9	1	1	1	2	1
Pro Salute Imperatoris	6	1	1	2	3	
Pro Salute someone else	2	2	2			
Pro Se	2					
Pro someone else	1	1	1			
Salvis	1					
Fecit	4	1	1	1	1	
Insidiis Numinibus Liberatus	1				1	
Periculo Liberavit	1	1	1			
Ex Iussu	1	1	1			
Honoribus et Favoribus	1	1	1	1		
Omnibus Honoribus Functus	1					
Euchēn/Euchē	10	3	3	1		
Anethēken/Anethēka	13	2	2			
Kat'oneiron	1					
Kat'epitagēn	1	1	1			
Charistērion	3			2		
Aphierōsen	1					
Huper Poleōs	1			1		
Huper Autokrat.	1					
Huper eucharistias	1					
Huper Philokunēgōn	1	1	1			
Eucharistōn/Eucharistērion	4	1				
Ep'agathōi	2					
Ex Eidiōn	1					

Table 6: Roman Imperial Minimium Votive Formulae

	Probable Slaves	Freedmen	Probable Freedmen	Gladiators/Venatores
V S				
V A L S			1	
A L V S				
Votum Demisit	1			
Voto Reddiderunt				
V S L T				
Ex Voto (Posuit)			1	
V P	1			
V S L M	1		3	
V S L/V L S				
Vovit				
Voverat				
Voto Fecit			1	
S L M				
V S L L M				
D/ D D	1	1		
D P				
D L L M				
L P				
L M				
L A S C				
Pos. L L				
Pos. (Posuit/Posuerunt)				
Ex Visu				
Somnio Admonitus				
Pro Salute Sua				
Pro Salute Imperatoris				
Pro Salute someone else	1			
Pro Se				
Pro someone else				
Salvis				
Fecit				
Insidiis Numinibus Liberatus				
Periculo Liberavit	1			
Ex Iussu				
Honoribus et Favoribus				
Omnibus Honoribus Functus				
Euchēn/Euchē	5			
Anethēken/Anethēka				1
Kat'oneiron	1			
Kat'epitagēn				
Charistērion				
Aphierōsen				
Huper Poleōs				
Huper Autokrat.				
Huper eucharistias				
Huper Philokunēgōn				
Eucharistōn/Eucharistērion				1
Ep'agathōi				
Ex Eidiōn				

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Table 6: Roman Imperial Minimium Votive Formulae

	Iuvenes ?	Other Probable Free	Regular Priests	Incerti	Incomplete	No Name
V S				1	1	
V A L S		1				
A L V S						
Votum Demisit						
Voto Reddiderunt						
V S L T						
Ex Voto (Posuit)				5	5	
V P						
V S L M				7		
V S L/V L S				1		
Vovit						
Voverat				1		
Voto Fecit						
S L M					1	
V S L L M			1	2		
D/ D D						
D P						
D L L M				1		
L P				1		
L M						
L A S C						
Pos. L L						
Pos. (Posuit/Posuerunt)				1		
Ex Visu				1		1
Somnio Admonitus						
Pro Salute Sua				3	2	
Pro Salute Imperatoris				1		
Pro Salute someone else				1		
Pro Se				1	1	
Pro someone else				1		
Salvis				1		
Fecit			1	1		
Insidiis Numinibus Liberatus						
Periculo Liberavit						
Ex Iussu					1	
Honoribus et Favoribus						
Omnibus Honoribus Functus			1			
Euchēn/Euchē		1		3		
Anethēken/Anethēka		2	3	6	1	
Kat'oneiron						
Kat'epitagēn				1		
Charistērion					1	
Aphierōsen				1		
Huper Poleōs						
Huper Autokrat.			1			
Huper eucharistias				1		
Huper Philokunēgōn			1			
Eucharistōn/Eucharistērion		1	1		1	
Ep'agathōi				2		
Ex Eidiōn				1		

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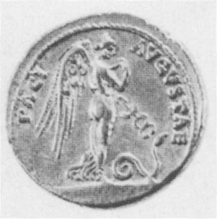

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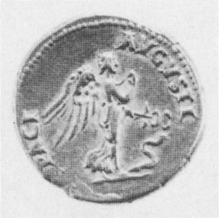

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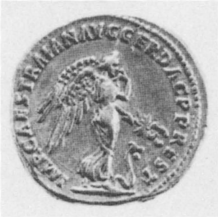

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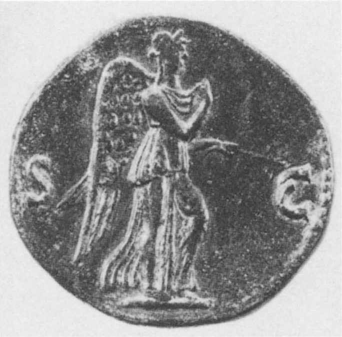

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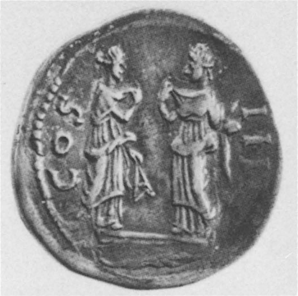

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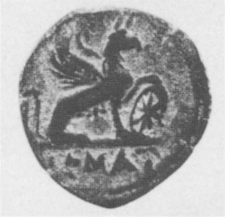

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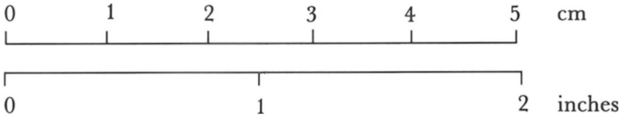


Plate I. **1**. Reverse of silver *denarius* of Claudius featuring Nemesis. **2**. Reverse of silver *denarius* of Vespasian featuring Nemesis. **3**. Reverse of silver *denarius* of Trajan featuring Nemesis. **4**. Reverse of silver *denarius* of Hadrian featuring Nemesis. **5**. Reverse of an Imperial bronze coin of Smyrna featuring typical figures of the Nemeseis. **6**. Reverse of a Domitianic bronze coin of Alexandria featuring a griffin with a wheel.

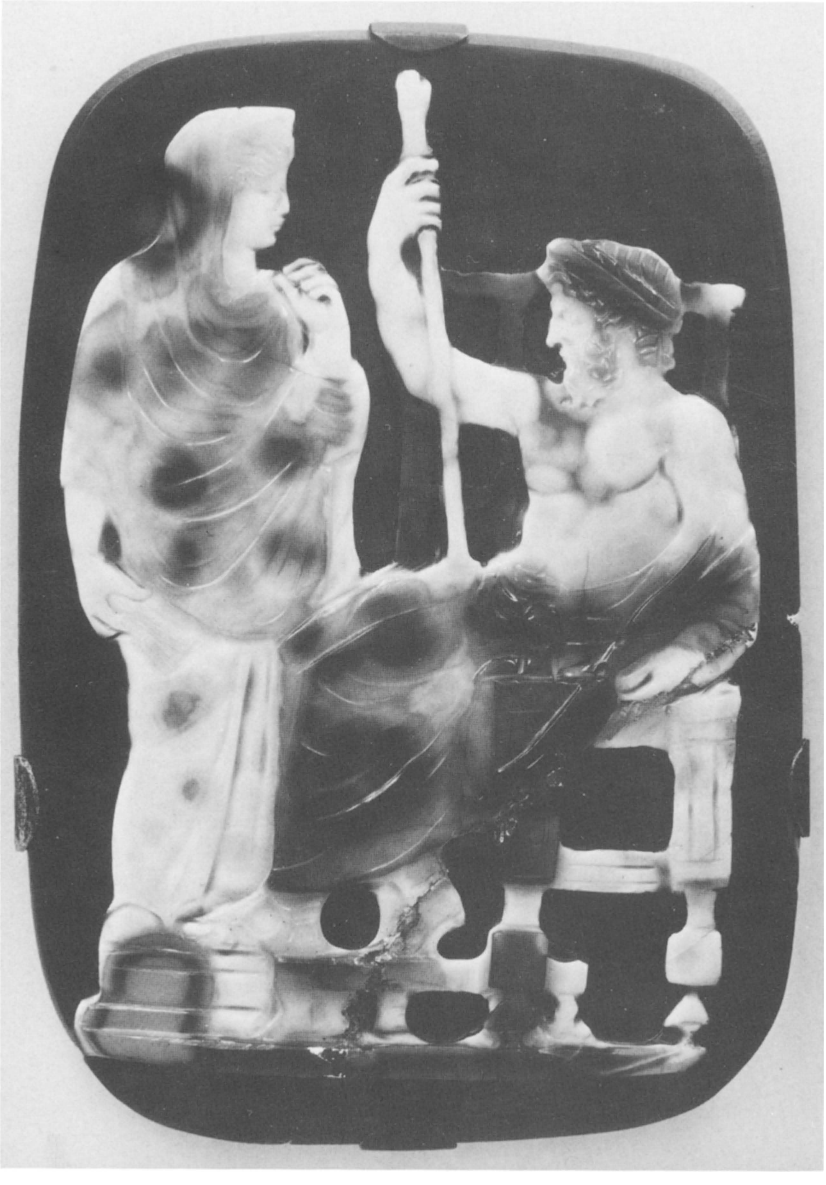


Plate II. The so-called "Jupiter Cameo" featuring a possible Nemesis/empress and Jupiter/emperor pair.

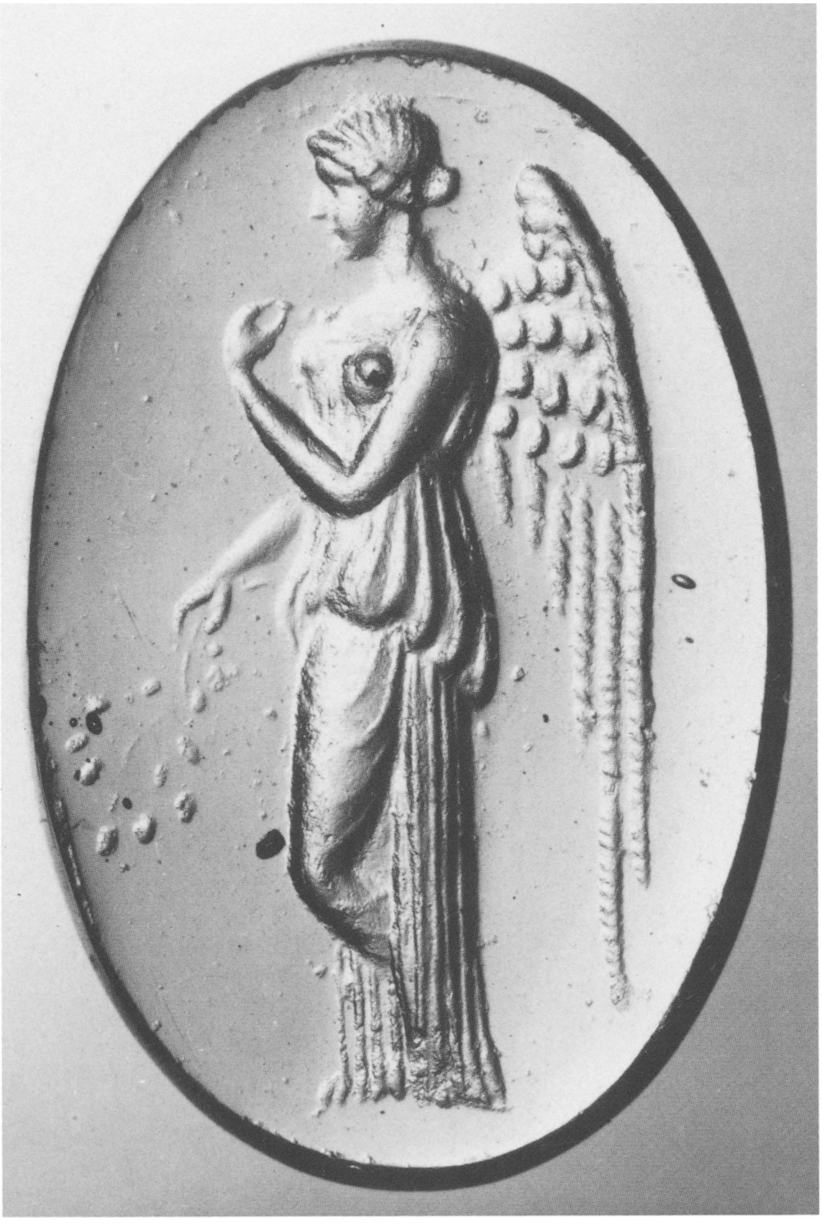


Plate III. A gem depicting Nemesis, with her typical gesture treated in a cursory manner.

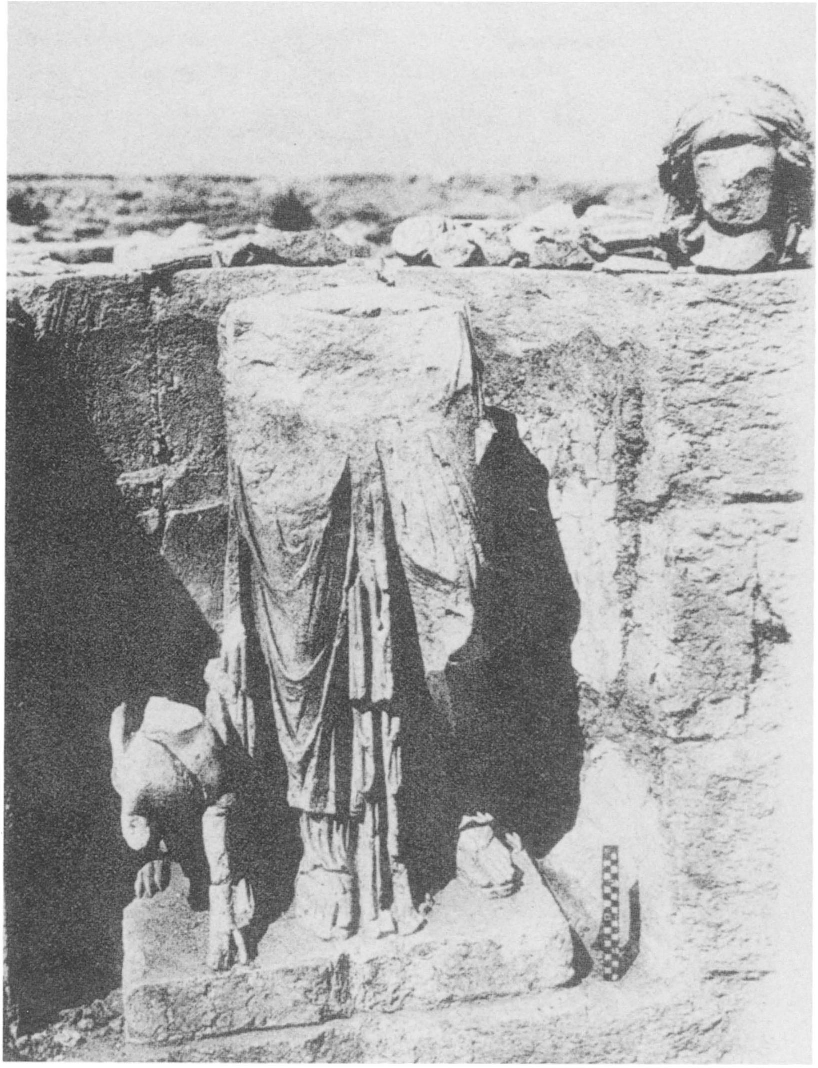
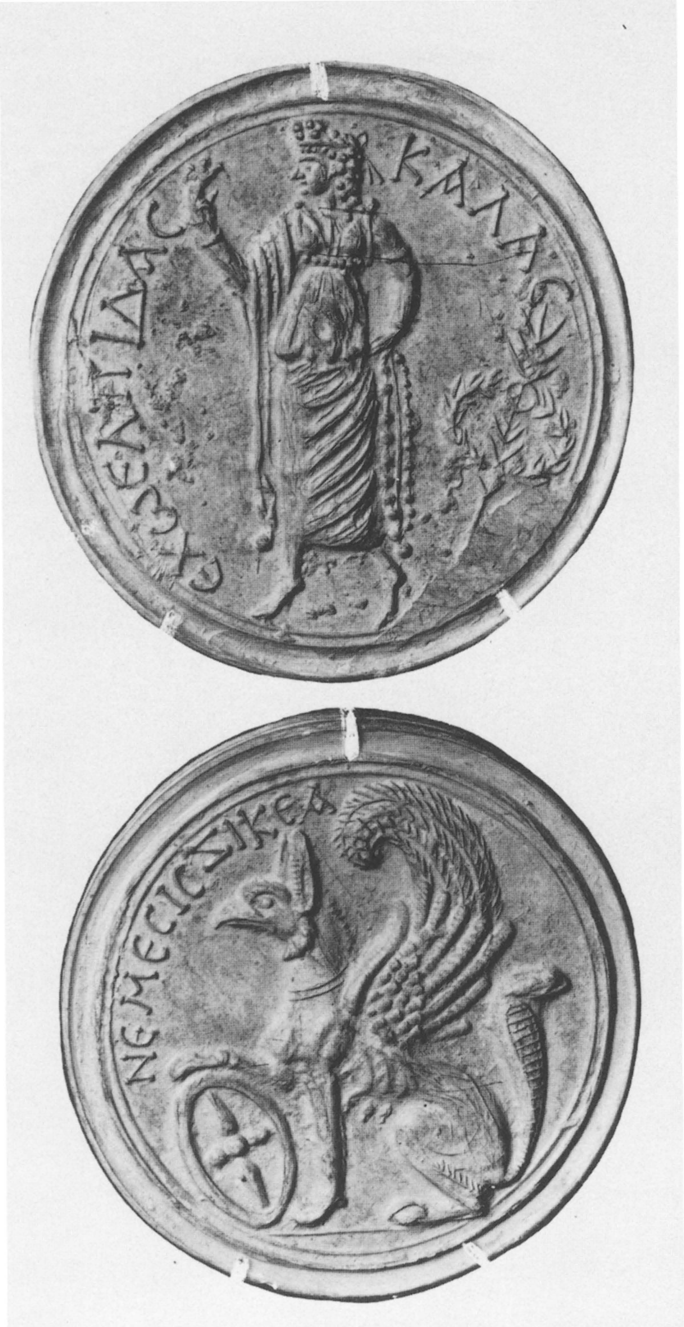


Plate IV. Fragmentary Nemesis statue from the basilica of the Caesareum at Cyrene.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ΝΕΜΕCΙCΔΙΚΕΑ

Plate V. Limestone mould from Egypt featuring a griffin with a wheel accompanied by a text mentioning Nemesis.

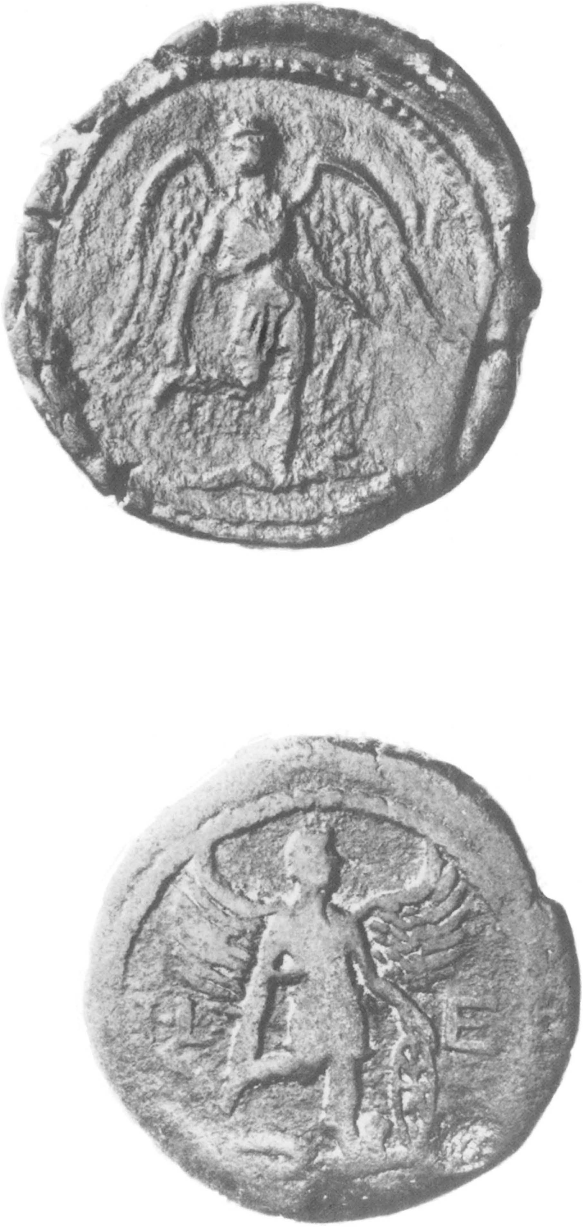

Plate VI. Two reverses of Trajanic bronze coins of Alexandria featuring Nemesis.

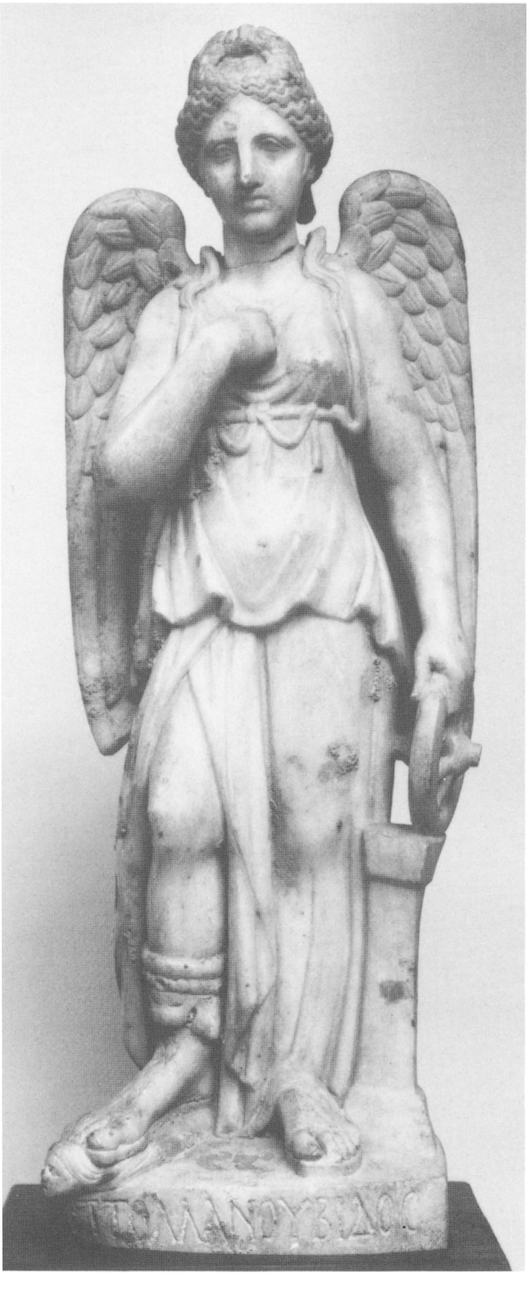

Plate VII. Marble Nemesis statuette from Egypt, datable to the second half of the second century A.C.

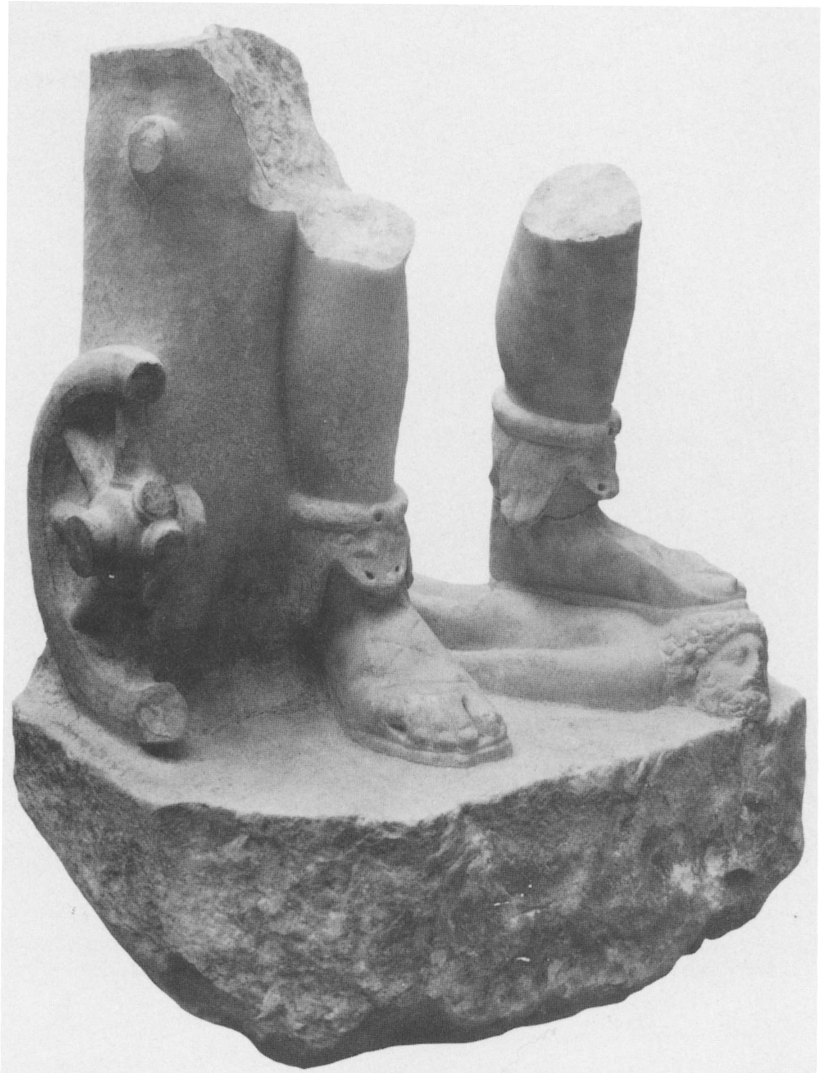

Plate VIII. Fragmentary Nemesis statue from the *sacellum* of the fortress at Qasr-Qarun/Dionysias.

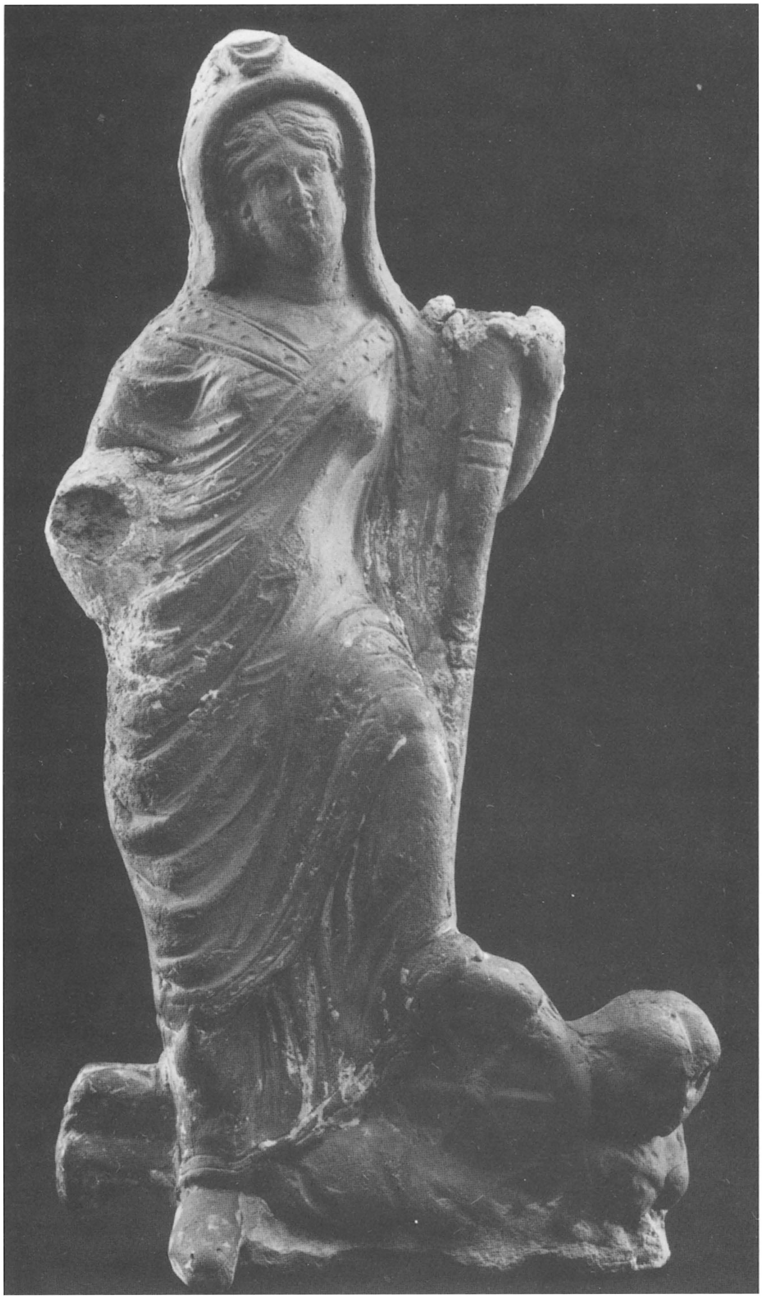

Plate IX. Terracotta Nemesis statuette from the Fayum.

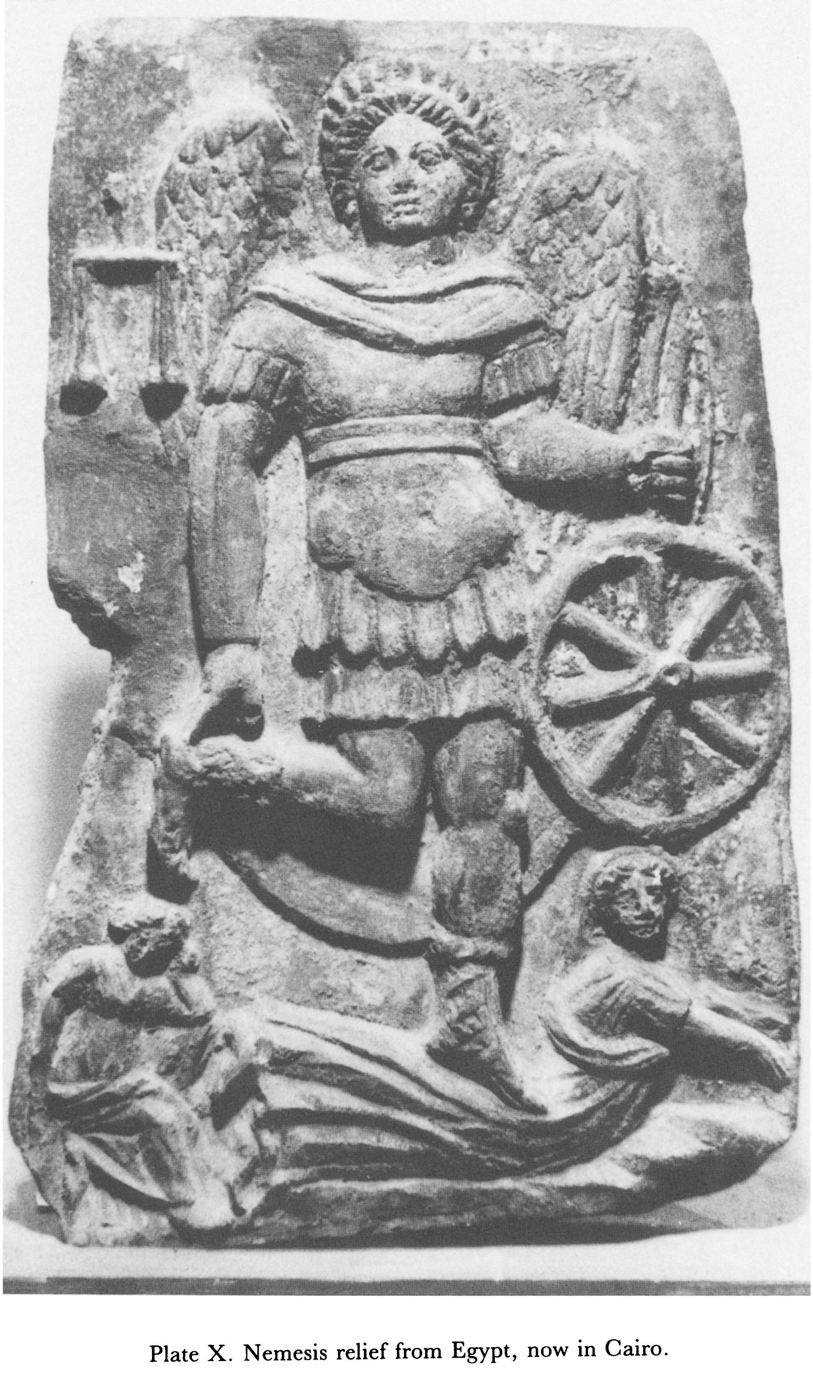

Plate X. Nemesis relief from Egypt, now in Cairo.

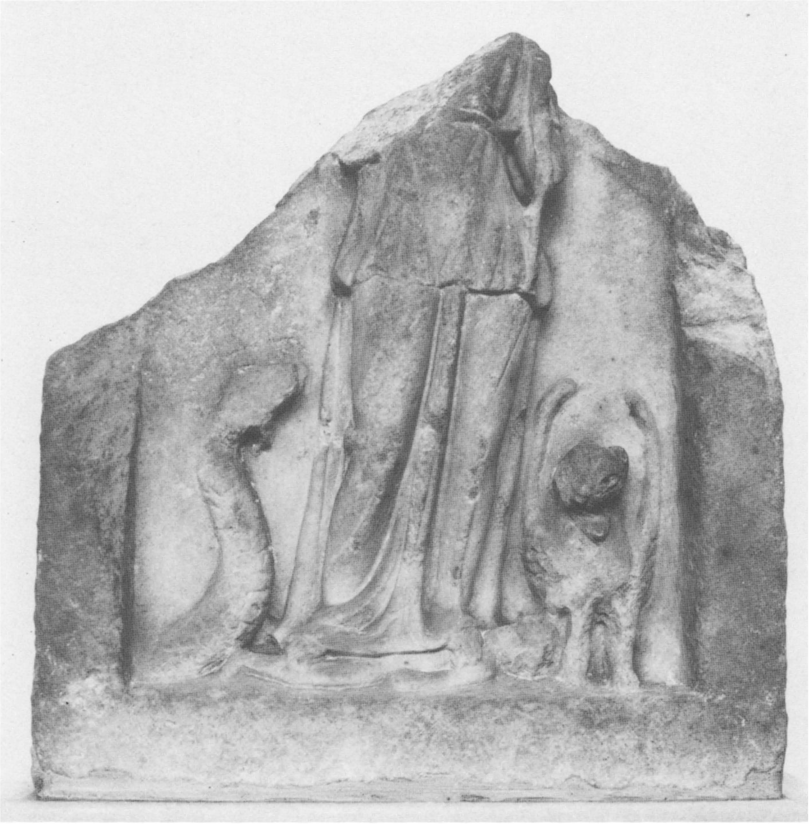

Plate XI. Fragmentary Nemesis relief from the amphitheater at Gortyna.

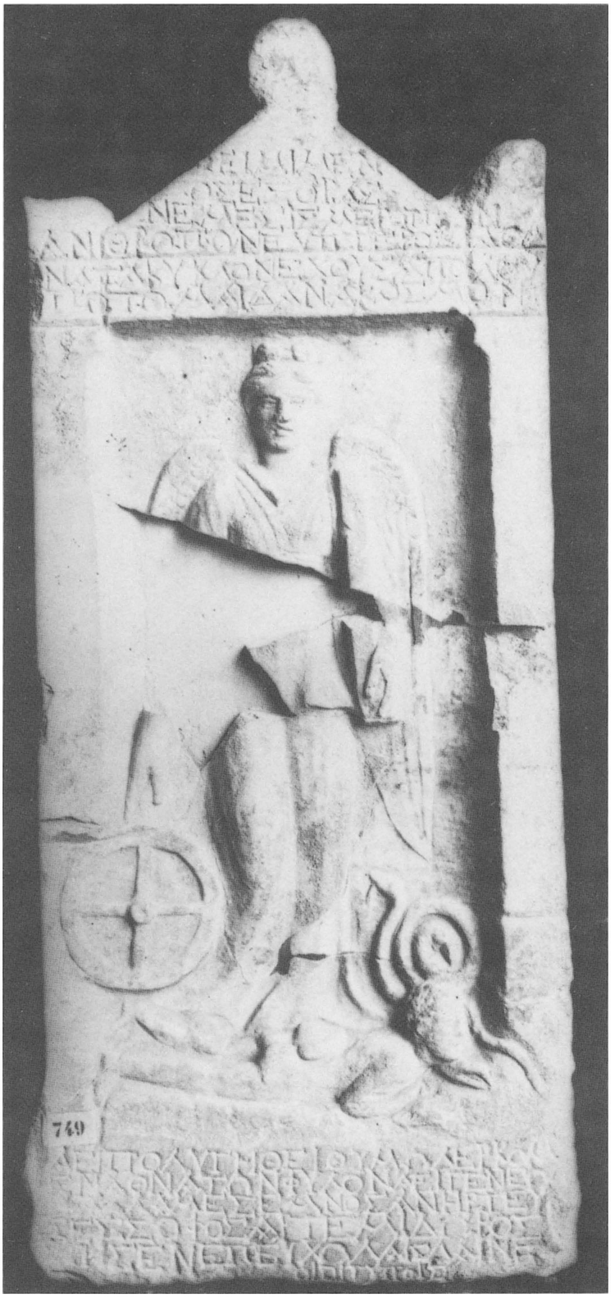

Plate XII. Nemesis relief and dedicatory inscription from Piraeus.

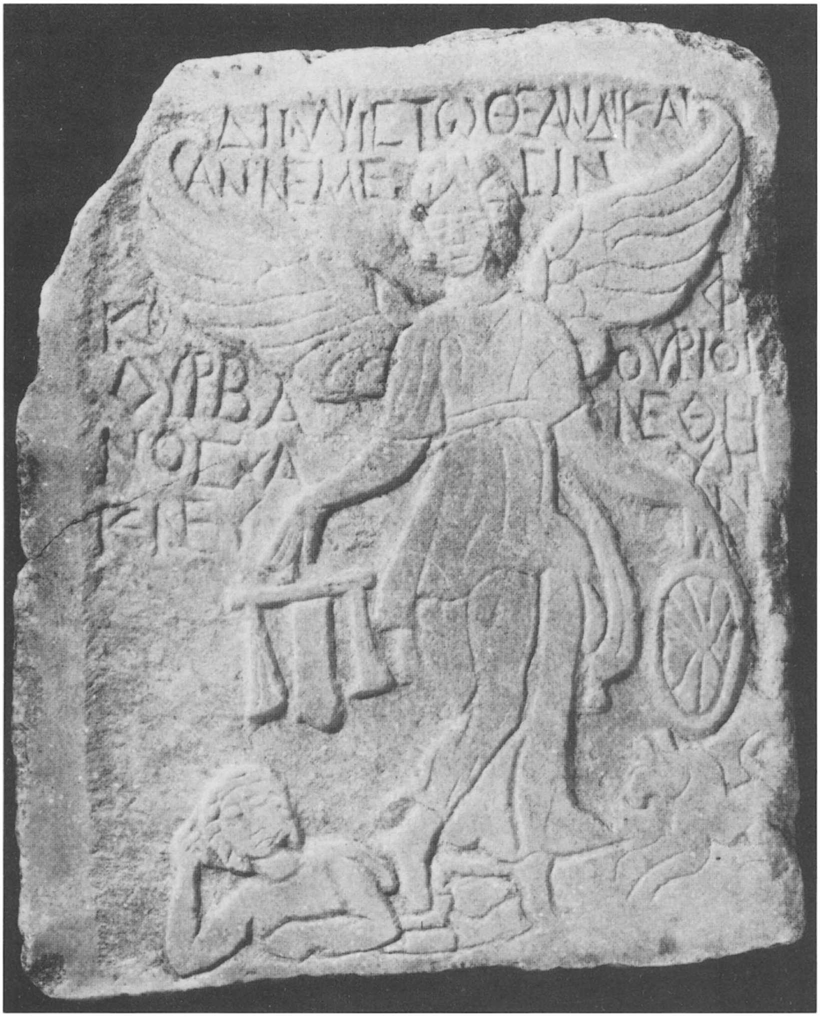

Plate XIII. Nemesis relief and dedicatory inscription from Thessaloniki.

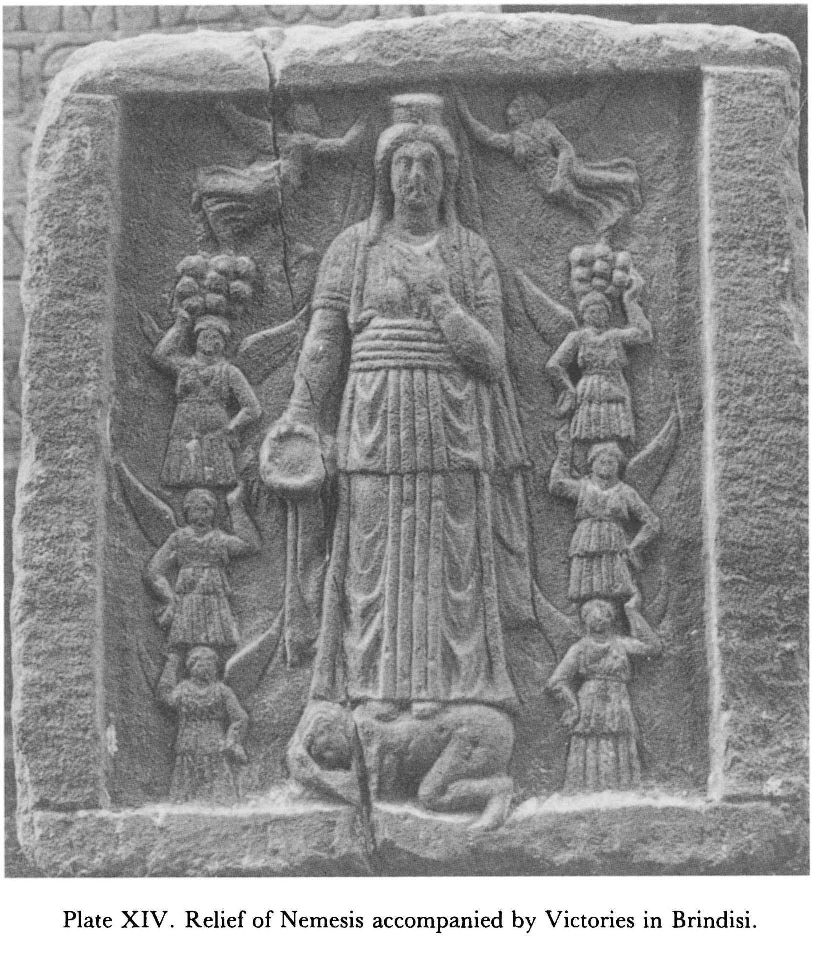

Plate XIV. Relief of Nemesis accompanied by Victories in Brindisi.

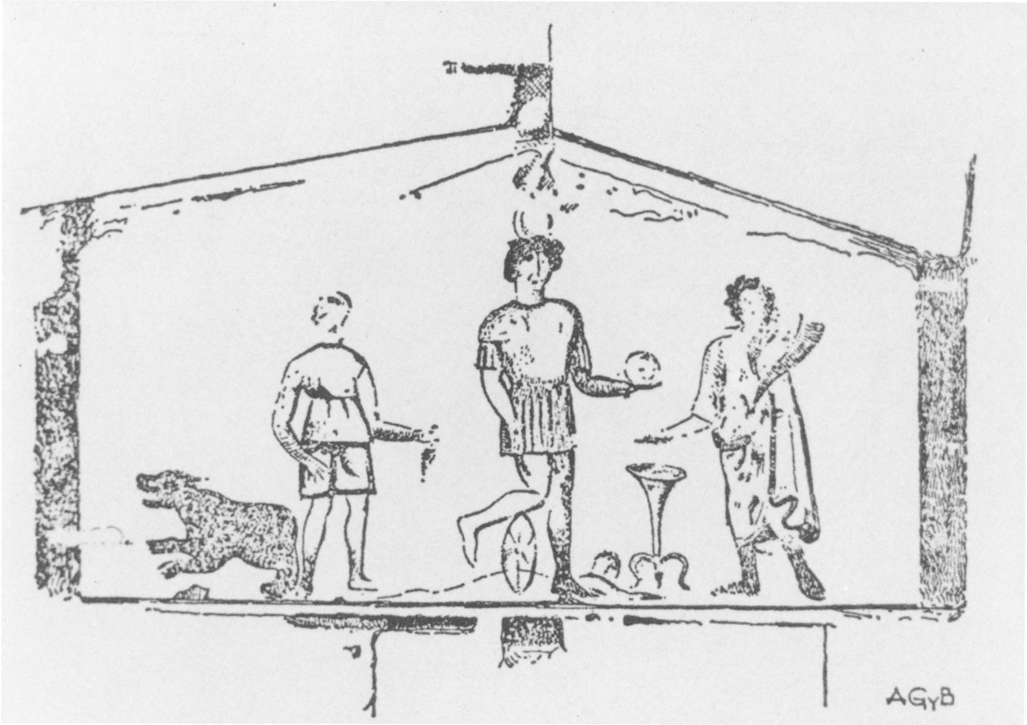

Plate XV. Nemesis in a wall painting from the Nemeseion of the amphitheater at Tarragona.

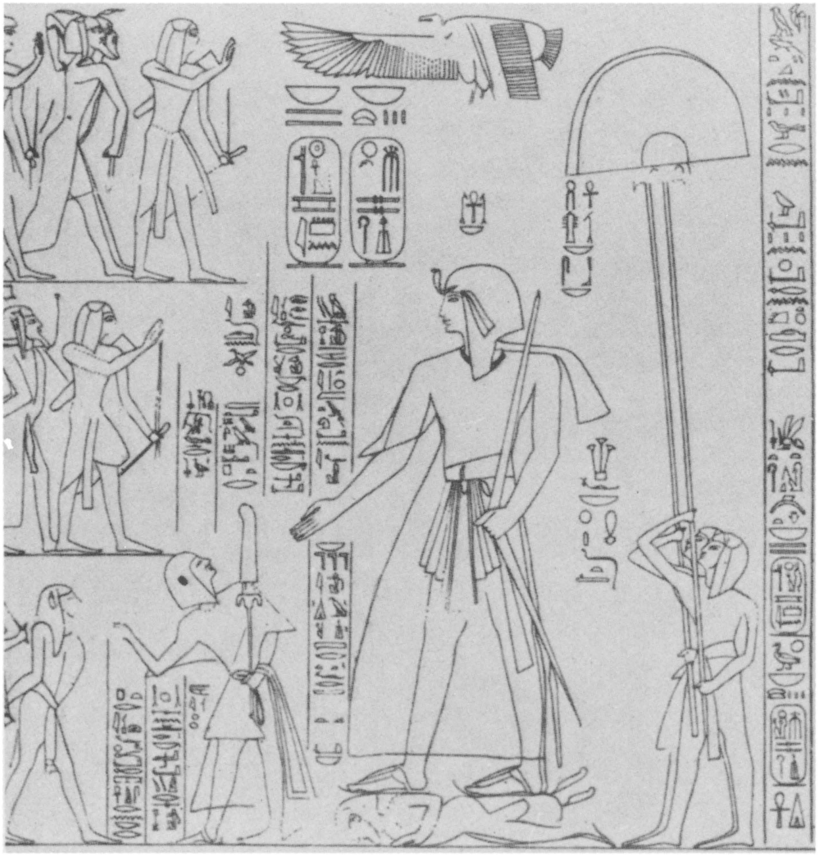

Plate XVI. New Kingdom relief featuring Pharaoh trampling his fallen enemies.

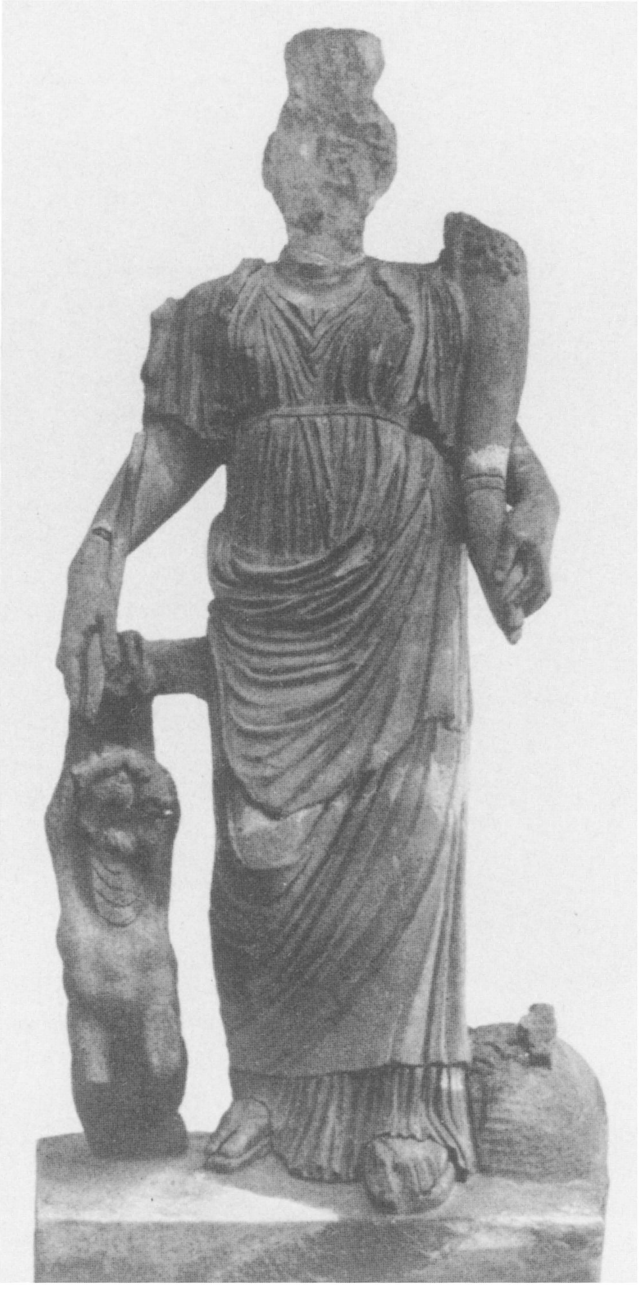

Plate XVII. Nemesis-Tyche statue from the stage building of the theater at Ephesos.

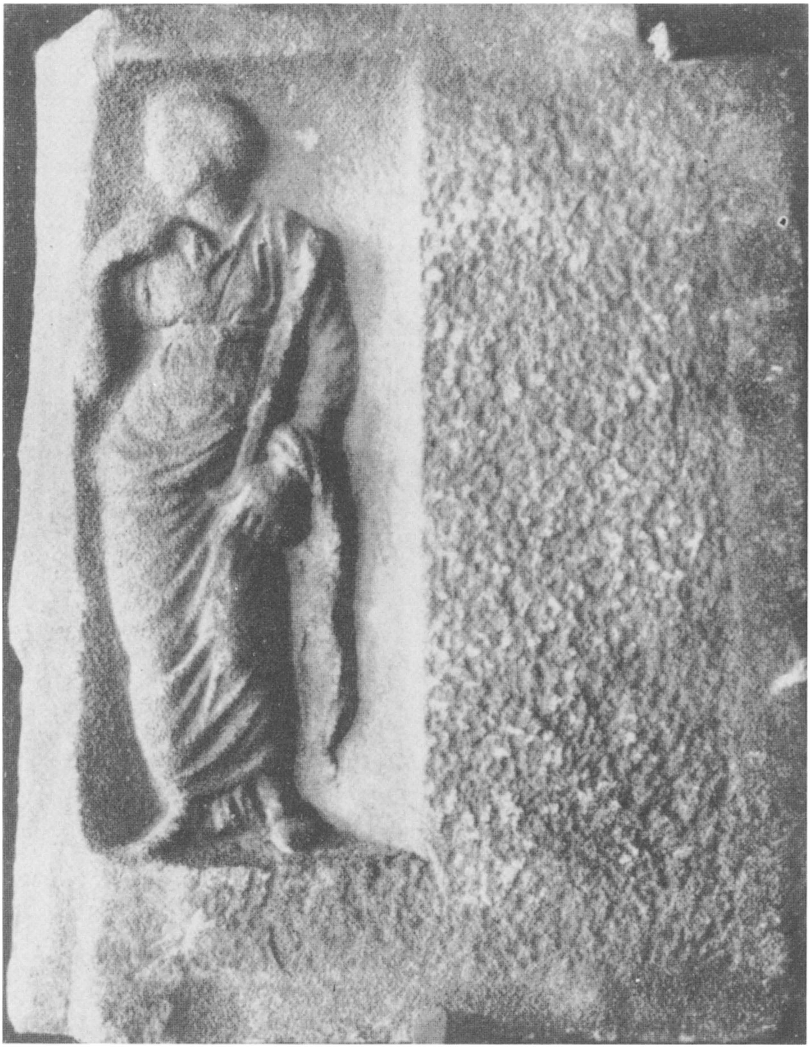

Plate XVIII. Nemesis relief from the theater at Thasos.

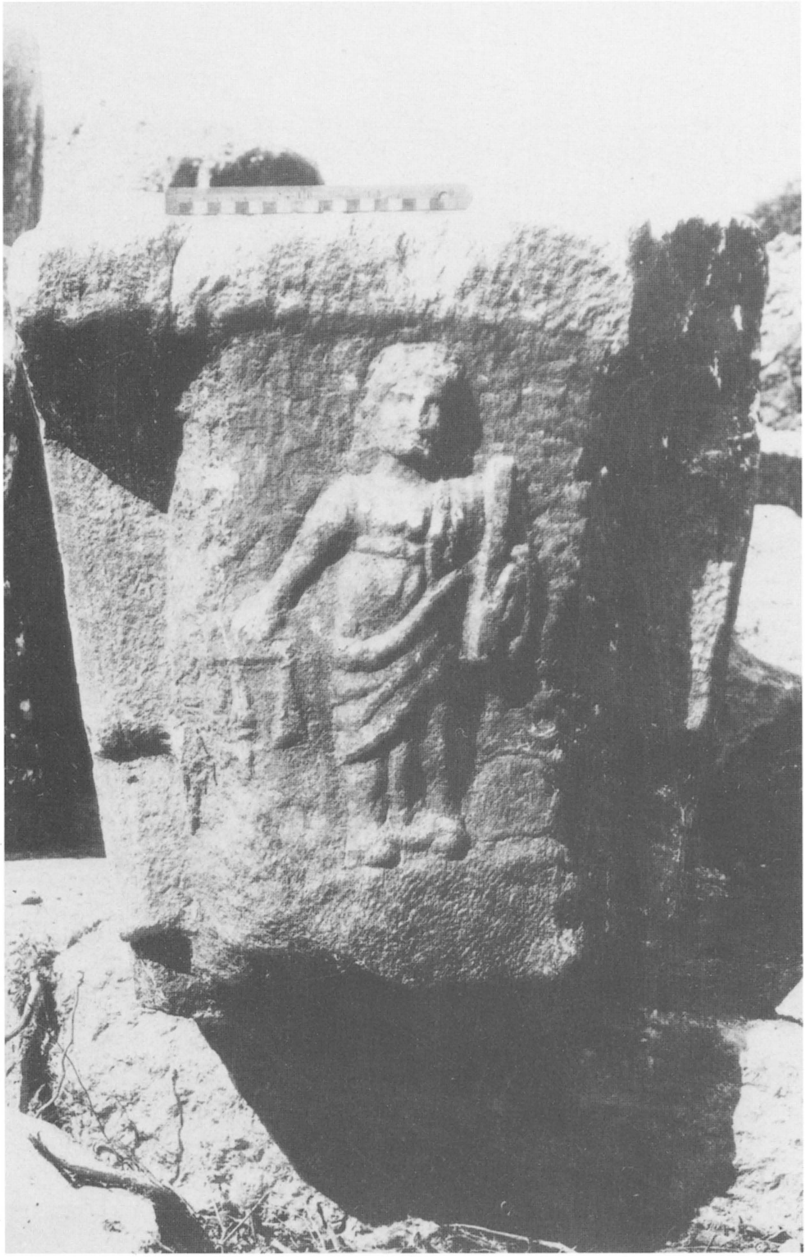

Plate XIX. Nemesis relief on a keystone from the western parodos of the theater at Philippi.

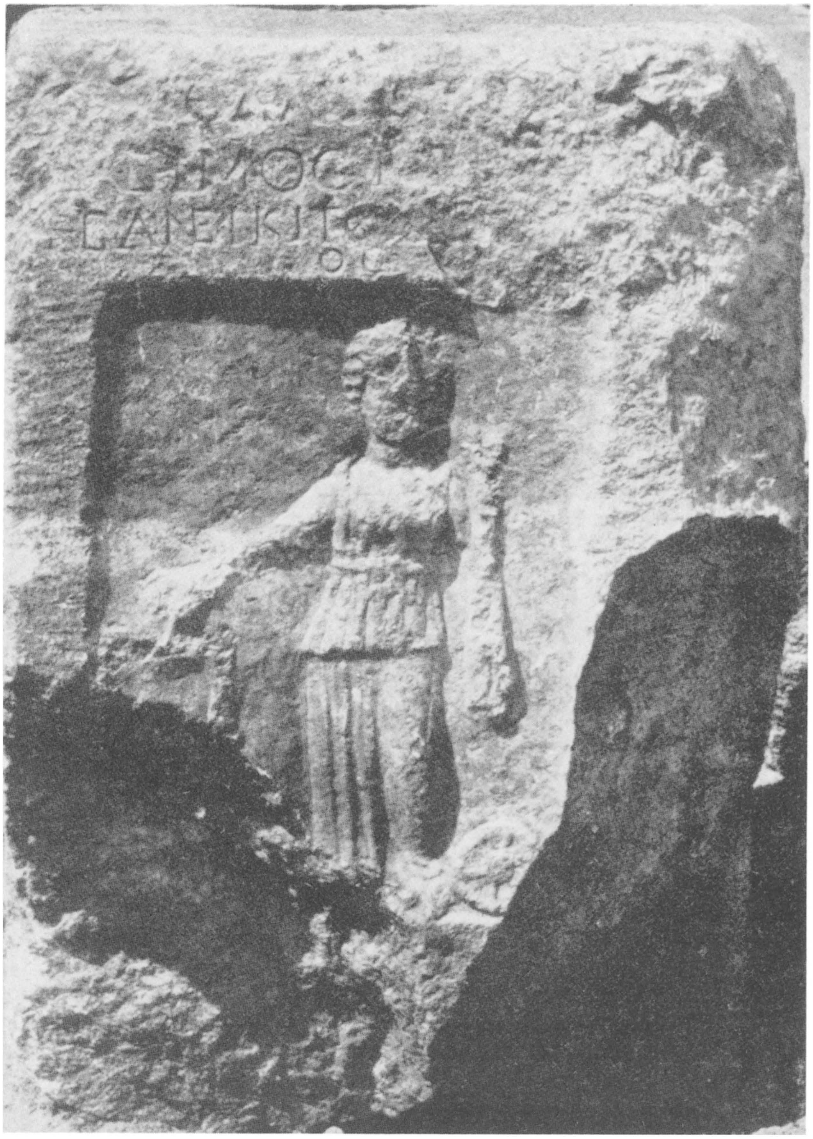

Plate XX. Nemesis relief from a dedication in the western parodos of the theater at Philippi.

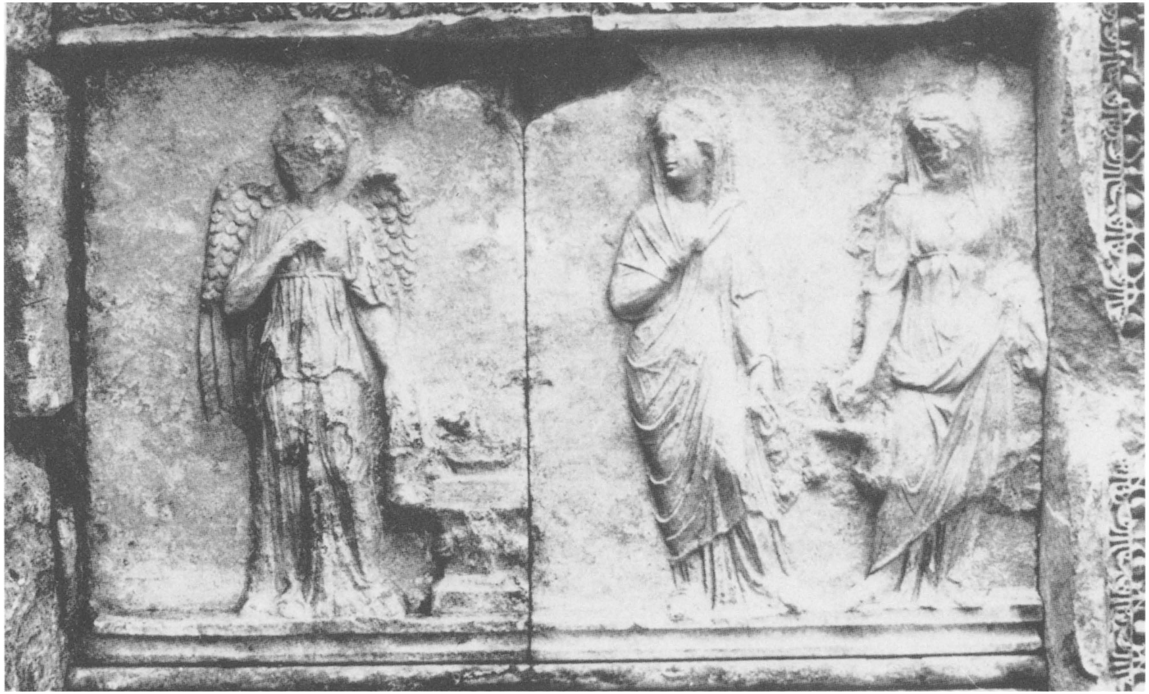

Plate XXI. Relief panel featuring Nemesis, perhaps Elpis, and Dike or Dikaiosyne from the theater at Hierapolis.

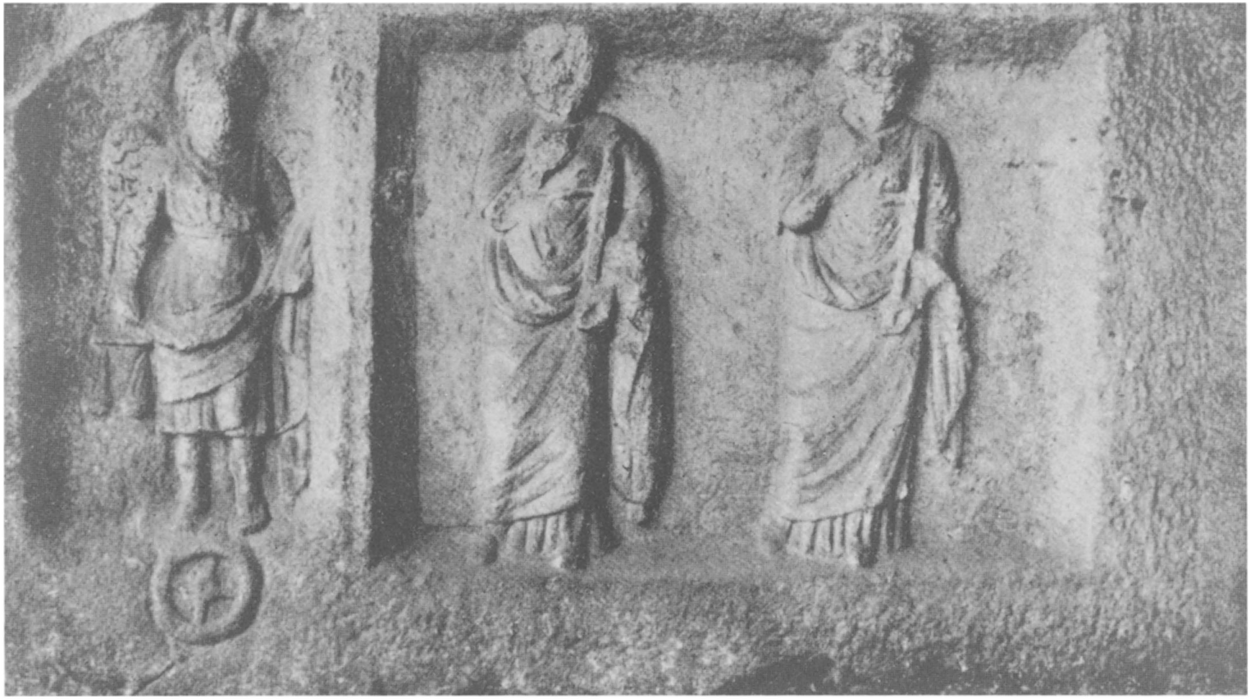

Plate XXII. Relief of three Nemeseis from the theater at Thasos.

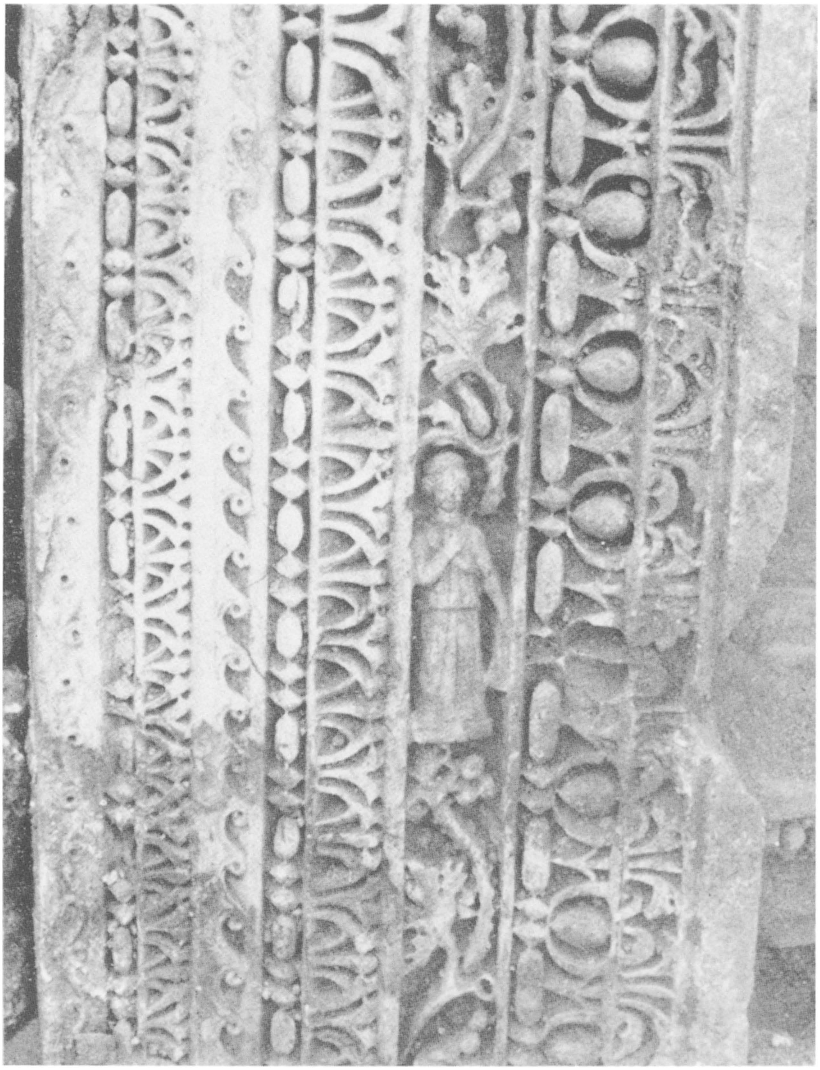

Plate XXIII. Nemesis relief on the door jamb of the south door of the stage building in the theater at Hierapolis.

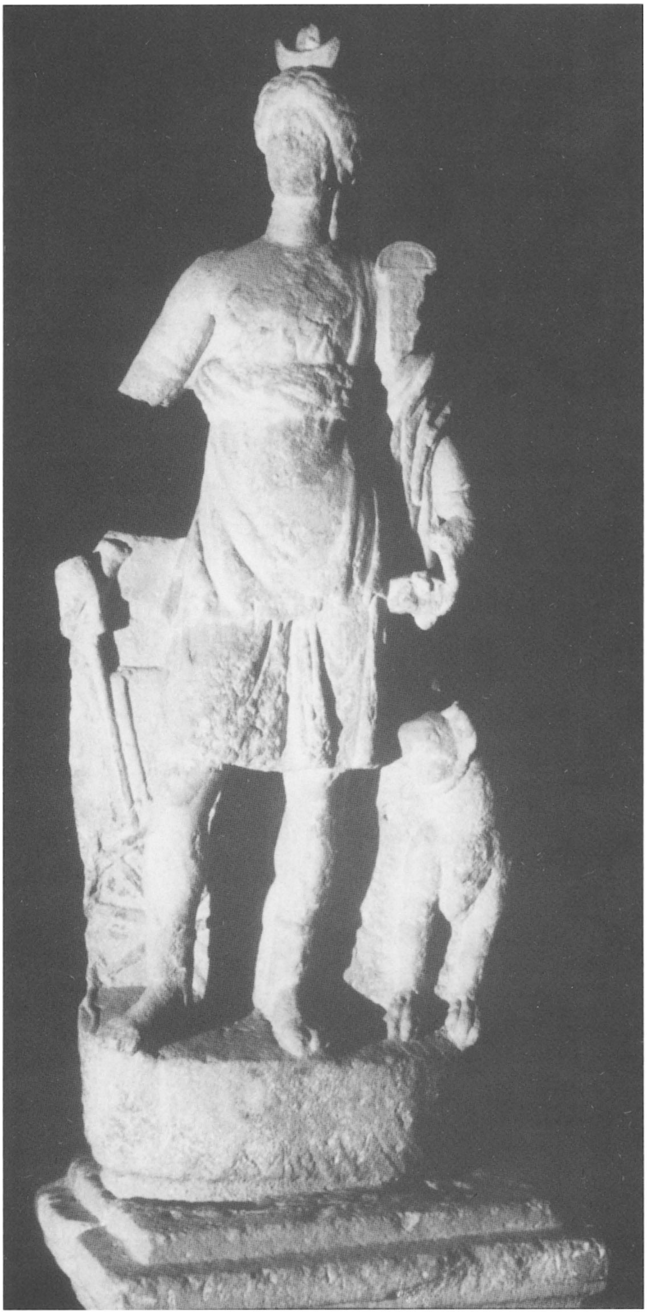

Plate XXIV. Nemesis statue from the Nemeseion of the legionary amphitheater at Carnuntum.

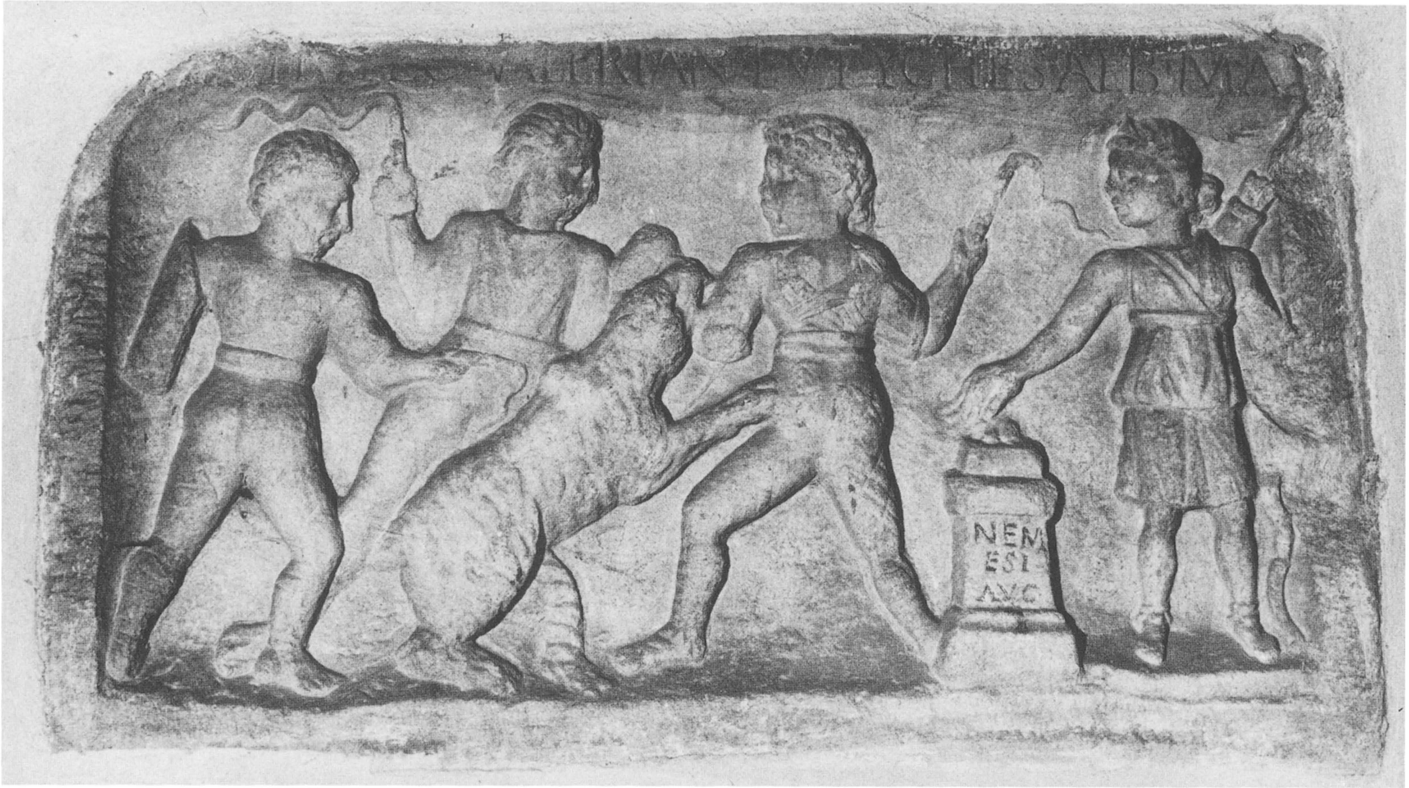

Plate XXV. Relief of *venatores* and Diana from Teurnia.

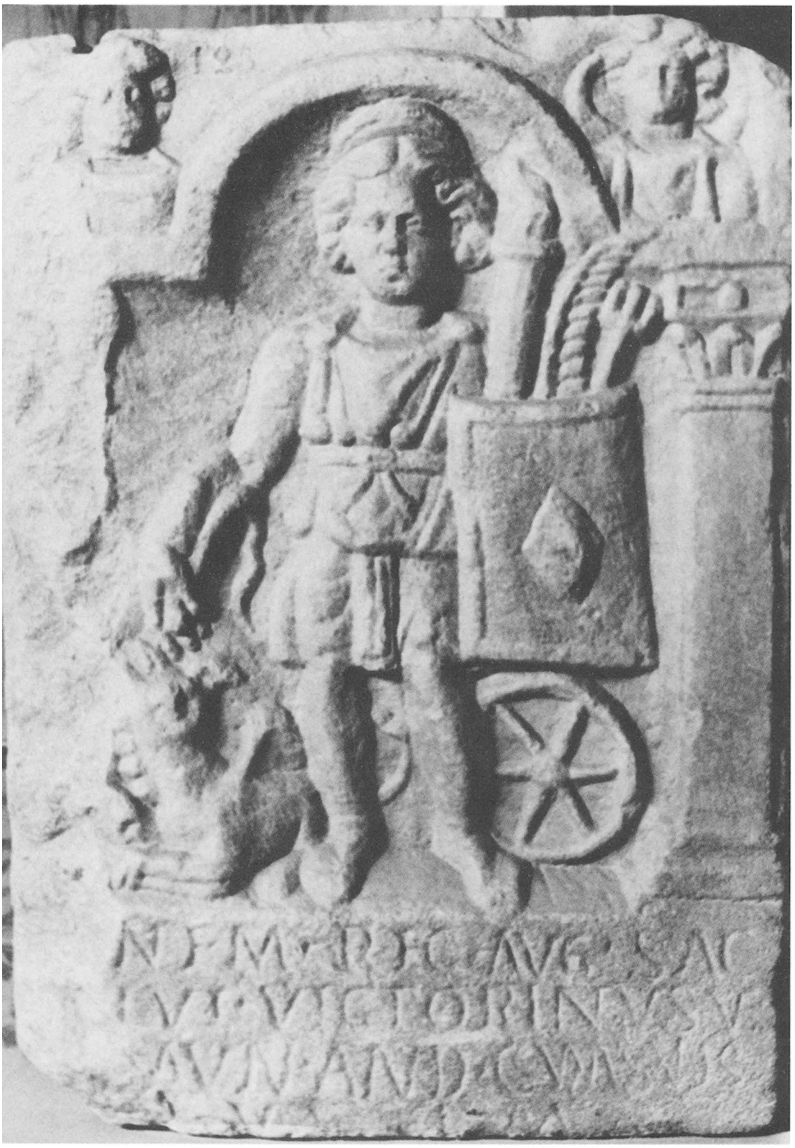
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Plate XXVI. Nemesis relief from Andautonia.

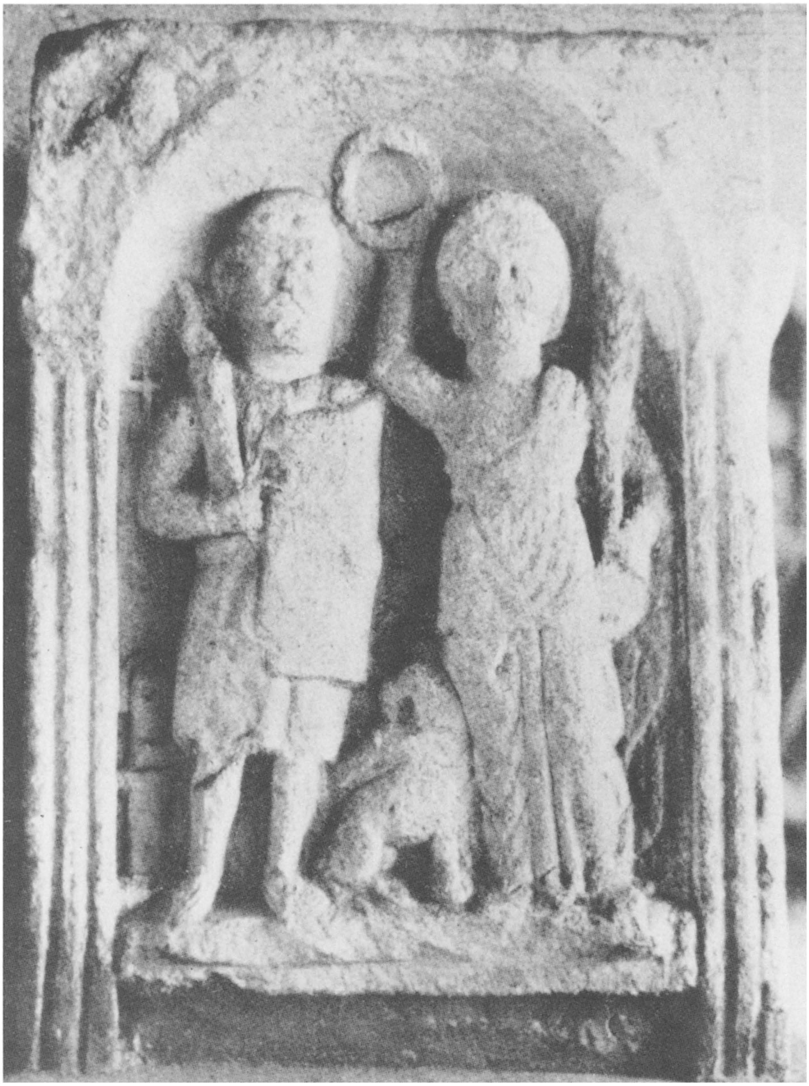

Plate XXVII. Relief of gladiatorial figure accompanied by winged griffin and Victory, from Flavia Solva.

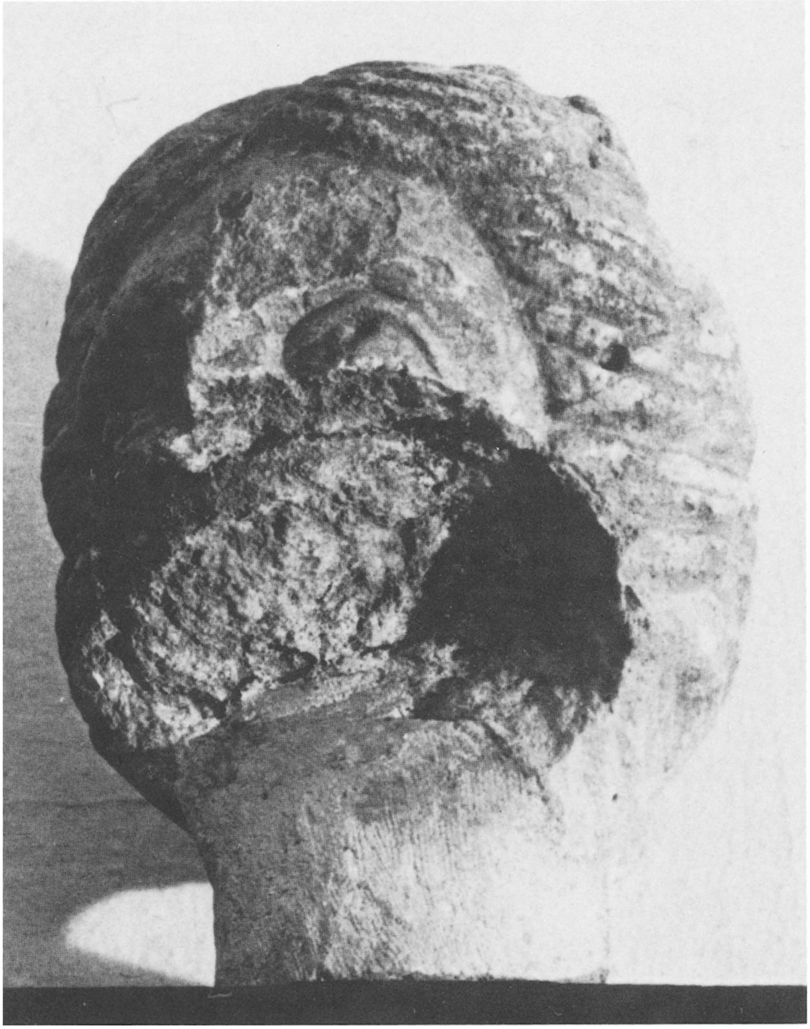

Plate XXVIII. Fragmentary Nemesis head from the Nemeseion of the civilian amphitheater at Aquincum.

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